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Devolution in Mission Administration

Devolution in Mission Administration

As exemplified by the Legislative History of Five American Missionary Societies in India

BY

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TO

JOHN A. COLE

WHOSE BROAD DISCERNMENT
OF
RELIGIOUS TRUTH, LARGE SYMPATHIES,
AND PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY
HAVE ENRICHED MY LIFE
AND
WHOSE ENCOURAGEMENT MADE
THIS STUDY LIGHT

JUL 7 1958

PREFACE

"DEVOLUTION" is used to indicate the act of devolving, transferring or handing over. In the literature of missions it is increasingly used to denote the transfer of powers, authority and responsibilities from foreign Churches and Missions to indigenous organizations. Where the process is in active operation, as in South India, the word has a place in popular missionary usage. "Devolution" and "euthanasia of the Mission" are expressions that stand for attitudes and practice more and more necessary and prevalent amongst missionaries in oriental countries.

The use of the word "native" has been avoided whenever this could be done without too great circumlocution. When a Government Memorandum for its Civil Service finds it necessary to warn its officers against the use of this word since it "is now frequently resented and should be avoided" (129.1) it is fitting that the Church should not err in this regard. The word will appear, however, in the quotations made from times when the word bore no derogatory connotation; and there has been no hesitation to use it in this study where an inclusive term was needed, but where the expressions "local," "indigenous," "national," or the phrase "the Church in the Mission Field," did not meet the need. We have attempted to regard the feelings

of those who might be hurt by its use, while at the same time combating to some extent a tendency to degrade a word that has had and can still have the noblest of associations.

The attempt has been made to state and to illustrate some of the problems of devolution in mission administration from the legislative history of five of the largest American Societies, working in India, and representing the three great Church polities, viz.: The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; The American Baptist Foreign Mission Society; The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in U. S. A.; The Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America; The Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Deep obligation is felt to the Secretaries of these five Societies and their Assistants for the very great courtesy and trust with which they placed at my disposal the private as well as published records of their offices. Without this access to primary sources this study would have been impossible. The actual sources utilized are given in the Bibliography.

The materials for a study of the Indian Missions of the **American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions** were obtained through the kindness of Rev. James L. Barton, D.D., Corresponding Secretary of the Board; Rev. William E. Strong, D.D., Editorial Secretary of the Board; and Rev. W. H. Cobb, D.D., Librarian of the Congregational Library, all in the Congregational Building, in Boston. I am also indebted for personal letters or interviews or both to Dr. James L. Barton, Dr. William

E. Strong, Rev. J. P. Jones, D.D., and Rev. C. Stanley Vaughan of the Madura Mission; and to Rev. R. E. Hume, D.D. and Rev. Henry Fairbank of the Marathi Mission.

The sources for the study of **the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society** were obtained from the archives of the Society in Boston through the courtesy of Rev. Fred. P. Haggard, D.D., Home Secretary; Rev. Arthur C. Baldwin, Foreign Secretary; and their Assistants. Full records were available, but because of the cessation of formally organized Missions as legislating bodies in 1859, there has not been the same possibility as in other Societies for securing legislative material. The more or less independent actions of Baptist missionaries since 1859 would require for adequate treatment, not the study of one Society, but that of the policy pursued by some scores of separate missionaries. Furthermore, according to the polity of the Baptist Church there is no General Assembly, or General Synod, or General Conference as in the Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed and Methodist Episcopal Churches respectively, the legislation of which might be investigated. I am furthermore indebted for letters, personal interviews or both to Dr. Fred. P. Haggard and Dr. Arthur C. Baldwin, to Mr. Geo. B. Huntington, Recording Secretary; Rev. Thomas S. Barbour, formerly Foreign Secretary; Rev. D. A. W. Smith, D.D., of Burma; Rev. M. C. Mason, D.D., of Assam; Rev. Jas. M. Baker, D.D., of the Telegu Mission; and Rev. Edmund F. Merriam, D.D., former Secretary of the Society and Historian of Baptist Missions.

The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in U. S. A. has its headquarters in New York. From its records and from the Presbyterian Library of Missions in the same building, through the kindness of Dr. Robert E. Speer, Rev. Arthur J. Brown, D. D., Rev. Stanley White, D.D., and their Assistants, an investigation was made. I am especially indebted to Dr. Robert E. Speer and Dr. A. J. Brown from whose conversation, letters and published writings I have gained much insight into mission problems. Further help has been received from Rev. H. D. Griswald, Ph.D., Dr. S. K. Datta, Rev. K. C. Chatterjee, D.D., Rev. H. C. Velte, Rev. W. J. Clark, Rev. Henry Forman, D.D., Rev. J. J. Lucas, D.D., and others.

The records of **the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America** are found in their Board rooms in New York. The Foreign Secretary, Rev. Wm. I. Chamberlain, Ph.D., by granting access to the records, and also by interview and letter, lent every assistance possible.

The sources for the study of the Indian **Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church** were secured from their Board rooms in New York. The investigation was made possible through the kindness of Rev. William F. Oldham, D.D., and others in the offices. Distinct assistance was given by Mr. C. H. Fahs, and Rev. Thomas S. Donahugh.

Through the kindness of Dr. John R. Mott, I was permitted to see the unpublished, stenographic records of the discussions in the eight Continuation Committee Conferences held in India in 1912. This gave a most valuable background for the more

detailed study. Copies of the original replies to the Commission II of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 are in the hands of Dr. Arthur J. Brown who permitted me to see them. The Minutes of the Presbyterian Church in India and of the South India United Church were loaned by friends in India.

The main sources for this study have been the formal legislation and declarations of Church courts, Foreign Mission Societies or Boards, and Missions. In each case these primary sources have been found in the original manuscript or printed form, and at the official headquarters of the Mission concerned. Criticism of such modern material was unnecessary. The data have been organized about certain outstanding problems of devolution; but under each problem the Societies receive separate treatment. For the further elucidation of this primary material we have turned to contemporary, annual, mission Reports; to contemporary papers and magazines; and to the Proceedings of Mission Conferences.

For the purposes of this study the word "Mission" is capitalized only when referring to a definite organization of missionaries in a given area for administrative purposes. Furthermore, the word "Church" is capitalized except when it refers to a local congregation.

Explanatory notes will be found at the foot of the pages, while all authorities are given by references to the Bibliography at the end of the book, the whole number referring to the book, while the decimal part refers to the particular reference under the given book.

D. J. F.

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EVANGELICAL
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INTRODUCTION

1. A Condition of Friction.

TWO movements characteristic of our times find expression in mission policy. What in the economic realm has led to the organization of men for industry and business, has in the realm of evangelization led to the formation of strong, aggressive bodies of superintendents called "Missions."* These by the use of western funds have employed large numbers of local agents in a way that to the growing indigenous Church seems almost like an exploiting of their country for Christ.

The other trend, resulting from a better practical grasp of psychological principles, manifests itself in a general shifting of centers of gravity. In the realm of philanthropy it began with the passing of that negative view of life which considered it natural for humble dependents passively to receive good from above, and which matured in the coming of the more positive conception that charity only incidentally exists for the relief of specific ills, and functions best in the establishment of normal, healthy life. In the realm of education it resulted in making centric, not the claims of subject-matter, nor the predilections of the teacher, but the nurture

*In general all the foreign missionaries under appointment by a given Board within specified territorial limits are organized into a definite administrative body called a "Mission."

of the child. In the realm of missions it has withdrawn our view from converts as mere separate units detached from non-Christian faiths and to whom a completed body of western truth and organization was to be imparted, and has almost startled us by pointing out the living Body of Christ on the mission field—the native Church—with needs and problems, with a mission, a life, a future of its own.

There are, then, two general types of institutions on the mission field—the well-developed missionary organizations long intrenched in the consciousness of the West, and the young Church constantly growing in numbers, organization and sense of corporate life. If the emphasis of the Nineteenth Century has been on the Mission, that of the Twentieth will undoubtedly be upon the Church in the Mission Field. And yet so recently as four years ago the chairman of the Edinburgh Commission II—which more than any other one thing has made this Church the focal center of mission thought—ventured to say that even Christian missionaries, and still less those who look on from without, scarcely understand that we are no longer to be the leaders but the allies of the Church of Christ in the Mission Field. (131.1)

Indian Opinion as to Maladjustment. This change in theoretical emphasis cannot affect mission policy and practice too soon. For, in India, as in other oriental countries, Christian leaders are showing a distinct restlessness under the régime where the "Mission" is centric in thought and practice. We shall best appreciate the urgency of this change,

as well as secure the Indian point of view that our western imaginations are so slow to supply, if we give careful thought to the kindly criticisms of these leaders amongst the Christian community. In order that we may have the most recent as well as the most authoritative expression of their opinion we shall here confine ourselves to statements made in the Continuation Committee Conferences in India during the winter of 1912-13. The stenographic reports of these eight Conferences—existing in manuscript only with the exception of the published "Findings"—bear abundant evidence of the need of adjustment between foreign and local bodies of Christians working for India's welfare. In reading the statements which follow, it should be remembered that they have all been made by outstanding Indian leaders invited to sit in these important, but very limited, Conferences, because they were distinguished in experience, influence and penetration of mind. Not only here but elsewhere we have quoted freely the frank judgments of Indian leaders, for it is of the utmost importance that we appreciate their point of view.

Such men regret the denationalizing aspects of Christianity as it has been given to them:

"Everything we have has been anglicized—our preaching, our singing, our sitting on chairs—everything." (122.1)

"Over and over again we have heard from non-Christian lips: 'Christ we understand and adore, but we do not understand the Christianity presented to us.' I asked a friend of mine, a Hindu doctor very near to Christ, to come over, join us and be baptized. His reply was that the Church was foreign

and the Indian came completely under foreign ecclesiastical domination." (122.2)

"Somehow or other as time went on, probably on account of refusal to encourage Indian leadership, the neo-Hindu and Moslem movements have come to be regarded as national, and the European missionary movement as antinational; indeed it is openly called a political agency for the complete subjugation of the Indian peoples." (122.2)

"So long as the foreign missionaries keep entire control of the affairs of the Church in India, and govern it in their own way instead of adapting it to suit the country, the Church will have a foreign stamp on it and the non-Christians will continue to regard it as an exotic or occidental religion." (122.3)

Widespread chafing under missionary authority is apparent:

"There is a strong and quite wide-spread feeling among the very best of us that when in this country we are called to the work of the Church, what we are in reality called to is to be helpless, automatic machinery in a policy in the shaping of which we have had no hand." (122.5)

"The missionaries should trust their Indian workers with positions involving financial and administrative responsibility, and have a regard to their opinions. Let the Indian workers be made to feel their responsibilities, and the foreign missionaries regard themselves as co-workers and not masters or superiors, and gradually take the place of advisers and not directors or leaders. . . ." (122.6)

"If Christian young men, who are the hope of the Church and the community, show a greater preference to join government service, it is *not* because they get higher salaries in government service; it is not the question of pay, it is a question of trust and confidence; it is a question of placing an Indian brother in the position of a European missionary with equal

powers of initiation, organization, direction and control. A young recruit from Europe or America is often placed over the heads of Indians who have turned gray in Mission service, who have proved their worth by years of faithful and successful service. Whatever reasons may be given in justification of the system, none of them are considered satisfactory by Indian workers, and to my mind, it is a sad sight to see men who have chosen and spent their life's work in a Mission, advising their own children to choose secular professions and interests." (122.9)

After describing the change in conditions in a church almost a century old, one speaker asserted:

"This change is due to the withdrawal of foreign control. For eighty-five years this church has been dominated by foreign missions, and it had little or no life." (122.7)

Three successive Indian speakers in one Conference, (122.12) under the discussion of how the relationship between the missionary and the Church could be improved, gave as their opinion:

"The people should have more voice in the management of affairs."

"The moment a congregation can look after itself, that moment hands off. Do not keep us minors in perpetuity. If we cannot have expensive pastors, then we will take the service ourselves. We may not have some of our present luxuries, but we do not need them."

"In the ——— section of the Church in India I think we should have more self-control, with the opportunity of getting advice from the larger organization."

There is a plea for trust and responsibility:

"Help such Indian workers as have proved their

worth in Mission service to feel that they are not subordinates but fellow workers: trust them as you trust your own countrymen, and you will not have to wait long before you will discover leaders amongst them. These very leaders will then become a strength to the Church which will then produce other leaders. Similarly trust the laity, court their co-operation, admit them to your fellowship, and the cause which you and we have equally at heart will prosper more and more." (122.13)

Actual rupture is not expected, but it is at least a matter of thought sometimes:

"It looks to me as if, in West India at least, nothing short of an actual revolt on the part of Indian Christians is likely to give an indigenous Church or Churches. . . . The cord that binds the Indian Church to its spiritual preceptors may snap at any time by unforeseen circumstances. God forbid that Indian Christians should blossom into manhood without receiving the benediction of their spiritual fathers." (122.15)

There is a yearning for a chance to express their own life:

"I do not think there can be any two opinions that there ought to be changes to adapt the Church to the people more fully. We want a liturgy that will appeal to the people; we want Indian Church architecture; we want an Indian Church ritual. We want to bring about conditions under which it will be possible to develop a national Church." (122.16)

Personally I shall never forget the way in which one experienced and honored delegate to the Panjab Conference told us that the Indian Church was like David upon whom Saul's armour had been put; his plea was that the Church might be left more

free from western methods and institutions until, without the burden of assimilating the overwhelming amount of new material, they might have a chance to do constructive thought for themselves.

We do not at this point attempt to show to what extent such opinions are justified, but they must be taken seriously; they show that the change in awakened national consciousness that has been sweeping over the whole oriental world has long since reached India, and is demanding more freedom, more responsibility, more opportunity, in Church as well as in state.

2. Influences Working Against Devolution.

Let us see in some detail the occasions which led to this preeminence on the part of the Mission and which hindered devolution to the relatively obscure Church. It will be seen that under the conditions that prevailed only men of the most far-reaching wisdom and tenacious ideals could from the first make the germinal Church central in their thought and work. In doing this there is no intent of allocating blame; acknowledgements of too great dominance on the one side and of too great passivity on the other are unhesitatingly given in the common effort to discover the best solution for the present.

The Consequences of Pioneering. The early decades of mission work were years of pioneering. Languages had to be mastered, literature created, stations occupied, institutions built, and in general, foundations laid. One word would sum up the

task—evangelization. Furthermore, at the beginning the Indian Church did not exist; that body, to which powers and responsibilities might be devolved, had still to be established. Usually years passed before the first convert would be secured, and often decades before the first man would be ordained. It was inevitable, therefore, that strong aggressive personalities and organizations of such should develop, used to thinking and acting from their own standpoint.

The Coming of Paternalism. When finally converts were secured, to the characteristics of the pioneer stage were added those of paternalism—that most disastrous mistake of Indian Missions. Converts came singly; and owing to the rigours of caste these were usually poor, destitute and homeless. Real sympathy, the possession in Mission funds of comparative wealth, a naïve imagination that these poor people suffer under their privations as the Westerner would under like conditions, the gathering of dependent converts about the Mission residence for protection and help—these things led to the introduction of what may be called the *mā-bāp* or paternal stage in Indian Missions.

Surrounded ofttimes by plague and famine, confronted by converts absolutely cut off from help or means of livelihood in their old community, and touched by an economic condition which even yet makes ten dollars the annual *per capita* income in India (130.2), it was small wonder that the missionary felt forced to become a special providence if the convert was to exist. Present-day literature on self-support is full of instances of the paternal-

ism of those early days. For example, fifty years after a certain Society was established, the boys of its Boarding School not only had all their expenses met by the Mission, but were also provided with monthly pocket money, and an allowance while at home on vacation. (113.6)

The heritage of this old custom of subsidizing Mission pupils has still to be combated and the wise use of foreign money in general still forms one of the most difficult practical problems facing the missionary every day of his work. That the old paternalism has not disappeared is indicated in the following quotations from two well-known and experienced Indian Christian leaders:

"The people have long been taught in practice, though not in words, that it is more blessed to receive than to give. The Mission finds everything for the convert—his food and clothing, his education and employment, his wife and her wants, his church and his pastor, sometimes his debts also, not to speak of his funeral expenses. Why should he subscribe towards his pastor's support? Let the Mission pay his pastor, says he. But let the Mission go and its benefactions vanish altogether. Fresh life will then flow into the church. New responsibilities will be felt and enjoyed." (113.4) And again: "The missionary is the Indian Christian's chequebook. To a great extent this has been the bane of my community. They are still in leading strings, even the most developed and manly individuals among them. We have all the qualities of the creeper and none of the trunk. It is time a halt was made in the policy of Missions." (47.1)

"It is not in fallen human nature to give for one-self, when somebody else is good enough to give for one. I do not blame Christians in Europe and America for their gifts. To do so would be really

ungrateful. And yet I, for one, do sincerely wish that our Churches should receive less and less. If European and American Christian brothers and sisters want to help India with their substance, let them by all means do so. But there are a thousand and one ways of helping India. Let them not help those who can help themselves." (113.5)

The Lack of Expectancy. In practically all Indian missions* this paternal attitude was carried over into church life. Missionaries for years acted as pastors of congregations and could with difficulty be convinced that they need not prolong this abnormal relationship. (7.10) The foreign purse was drawn on for church buildings, furniture and repair and generally for the salary of all church as well as mission agents.

In the early decades of mission work those small but significant first contributions of the people for the support of the work were entirely overlooked in reports. In fact it is the judgment of one of our foremost mission administrators that probably few, if any, missionaries or Board officers in the early days of mission work thought it possible that the people they were seeking to Christianize would ever pay any appreciable part of the cost of the evangelization of their land. About 1850 missionary reports written in India begin to make allusions to instances where the people themselves were invited to make contributions.† But it was most sur-

*Note the brilliant exception in the work of American Baptists among the Karens of Burmah. cf. 128.

† From an early date the Annual Reports of the Missionary Boards of the Methodist and Dutch Reformed Churches gave one column of their statistical tables to contributions received on the field. But it was not until 1880 that the Methodists analyzed these receipts in four or five columns. (97.2) In 1884 the

prisingly late in mission effort before the Boards in America felt that a statistical record of this sign of growth in power to give on the part of the Indian Church was a matter of sufficient importance and interest to their constituency to justify tabulating it in their general report.*

The Undeveloped Capacity for Organization and Self-Government. India's village economy with its *panchayat*† system constitutes an outstanding instance of community self-government. During the long centuries when invasion after invasion swept over the surface, the village organization was one of the great forces which held the social fabric together. Evidence of another kind of organization is found in caste. Furthermore, India can point to empire builders like Asoka and Sivaji; to organizing philosophers like Sankara and Ramanuja; to modern sects such as the Brahmo

Baptists began to give Indian contributions analyzed under four heads; (23.1) but this was not done by the Presbyterian Board until 1904. (50.2) The American Board did not note native contributions at all until 1888, although for several years before such contributions from all their fields amounted to over $20,000. (1.3) Even yet it gives them in one column only, from which it is impossible to judge to what extent the Indian Church is giving; all deductions from it on this score would be fallacious, since a very large percentage of this total may be given as fees by non-Christians for educational and medical work. Certainly it is true that in connection with the Presbyterian Missions in India 80% to 90% of the total receipts come from such sources. (50.1)

* As a matter of fact, in the Madura Mission of the American Board we find in 1856 and fairly constantly thereafter a record of the contributions by Indians. (5.10) Their oldest mission in India, the Marathi, in 1868 added for the first time two columns to their statistical tables in order that they might note progress in the ordination of pastors and contributions by Indians which by that time were amounting to Rs.1645. (4.10) In the Presbyterian report on India for 1866 a statistical review of her missions for thirty-three years is given with no mention of organized churches, self-support or Indian contributions. (50.3) Contributions received in India do appear in 1869. (50.4)

† Originally and by derivation, rule by "five" (panch); in general, rule by a group of elders.

Samajh and the virile, militant Arya Samajh; and to a long list of men now in important government posts.

And yet India is universally held to be lacking in power for initiative and organization. Certainly this was the judgment, though bitterly resented by Indians, of the Public Service Commission recently appointed by the British Government. (115.1) This may be accounted for, not by lack of capacity, but by the absence of that progressive social plexus in which self-direction and ability to carry responsibility are developed.

In modern industry, also, except in the cotton trades, the original impulse, capital and directive energy have come almost wholly from abroad. Men with administrative ability and technical knowledge who form the backbone of industrial life in Europe and America are largely lacking in India. (125.1) We see the same tendency also amongst the 30,000 students of that land whose great ambition is to secure a post under their foreign government.

Analogous to this spirit of dependence manifesting itself in the political and industrial world was a condition in the religious realm. The missionaries found agents not only willing but eager to serve under a foreign Church. The spirit of independence which in Japan demanded and secured ecclesiastical freedom from one foreign Church after another has been almost lacking in India. In the few instances of the reorganization of congregations into independent Indian Churches, thus far, the initiative has come predominantly from foreigners. This illustrates one of the discouraging

things about work in India. For while the unrest exhibited in a previous section is one fact to be considered, the lack of a spirit of aggressive independence is also present and acknowledged. We find, for example, the Indian Moderator of a recent General Assembly saying:

"Let me mention that not a few of us, pastors and teachers, are unwilling, not unable, to take the initiative in Church matters that come before us. We are unwilling to do our own thinking. We are willing to let others do our thinking for us. We are willing to be feeble when we ought to be manly. We prefer to be led when we ought to take the lead." (116.1)

Such attitudes on the part of India's most capable men are no real excuse for building up elaborate machinery about the Mission as center. They do, however, enable us to understand how the devolution of powers and responsibilities to the Indian Church was hindered and delayed.

The Social Status of the Converts. If from the beginning missionaries found the capacity for leadership thus undeveloped amongst India's more fortunate classes, how much more is this true of those submerged masses from which the bulk of the Church in India has been formed. These have been trained to follow blindly the *fakirs* and *sadhus* who travel among them and they have not been schooled to independent religious thought and activity. Socially, industrially, religiously they have leaned upon others for centuries. If not always actually serfs they have been practically such in attitude of mind so that an Indian, who knows and loves and yearns for the Indian Church as for-

eigners never did, tenderly calls it "the Church of Slaves." Now a certain habit of thought becomes fixed in each stratum of society when it is permeated with the spirit of caste so that in family, in industry, in civil life, in religion, in everything class status dominates relations. To this lowest class the attitude of the led, the ruled, the dependent is mediated by every social influence, and it is the community "feel"—not simply a Church's need for leaders—that counts. When, therefore, it is realized that ninety per cent of the Christians in India come from this depressed class (130.1) one can see against what heavy odds the work must proceed which looks toward a thoroughly independent, self-contained and self-propagating Indian Church capable of bearing the load now carried by Missions.

The Position of Missionaries as Superintendents. The employment of a large Indian agency subordinate to and dependent upon the foreign missionary had been the prevailing policy of Missions in India. The poverty of the people, the relatively far greater resources of the Mission, the acceptance as almost axiomatic that the creation of such a large class of Indian agents under foreign control was wise, the willingness of converts to be so employed,—such conditions developed a large missionary superintendency. There are those who regard this as another great mistake in India, but their voices have been few and unheeded. The result is that for the most part the foreign missionary in India is an overseer looking after work to see that it is properly done. Under him are "Classes" and

"Sub-classes" of catechists, colporteurs, teachers, licentiates, preachers, Bible-women, and workers of various sorts, each with its graded rate of pay. Under such conditions there is seldom the feeling of absolute equality on the part of the Indian and ideal relations are almost impossible. Certainly in practice this has been true.

The significance of this situation for our problem of devolution is apparent. Here is a strong, relatively wealthy, highly organized foreign work gathering into itself the strongest Indian workers and whatever prestige attaches to Christianity; beside it is the weak, poverty stricken Indian Church. If Christianity is to become indigenous the powers and responsibilities of these "Missions" must devolve to the Indian Church as such.

On this question an Indian leader expresses his opinion as follows:

"For generations past Indian Christians and Indian Christian Churches have been playing the part of mere spectators. As in a game of cricket or football there are hundreds of spectators engaged in merely witnessing or watching the game while only a few take part, so Indian Christians and Indian Christian Churches have been merely lookers-on. Having had no share or part in active administration and organization they have well nigh lost the *swadeshi** instinct. As in the physiological world so in the moral and spiritual; the power that might have been developed under favourable circumstances has not been called into use, and therefore almost lost.

"Missionaries have at times remarked that they and their organizations are but the scaffolding of the Indian Church, and that as the building rises the scaf-

*Literally "own-country" i.e., patriotic.

folding would gradually disappear. True, but the indigenous building has scarcely risen to view during all these years for the simple reason that the scaffolding is drawing all attention and the building is lost sight of. The fault has not been entirely with the Indian Churches. They have been taught to admire the ornate and ornamental scaffolding, and to look upon that as the permanent structure. Like the disciples of Christ on the Mount of Transfiguration they have in effect said, 'Lord, it is good for us to be here.' It is not every non-Indian missionary that has had, or has, the grace to decrease in order that Indian Christians or the Indian Christian Church may increase. If in the past the Indian Christian Church has not risen to independence it is largely due to the subordinate and in some cases subservient position which the Church has had to occupy. There has been no room for the development of the *swadeshi* spirit." (47.9)

The Temptation to Ownership. All too indicative of unconscious domination there arose phrases —of recent years happily on the decrease—which rankled amongst Indian Christians. They saw in reports expressions such as "our own Indian Christians," "the authority of the Mission," "my catechists," "my schools," "mission churches," "mission clergy," "mission helpers." This terminology was obnoxious because to the Indian it implied that all of these were regarded as so much property by the foreign agency. Even yet to a reader of mission reports it is a refreshing surprise to come across Indian pastors, catechists and evangelists grouped under the head of "our co-workers" or "our fellow laborers." (5.2)

This more or less unconscious assumption of ownership, properly stigmatized in a recent article

by the Bishop of Madras as the "serf and cattle theory of the native Christian" (114.1) undoubtedly is one of the reasons why Indians do not with more spontaneous joy support their institutions. They are not made to feel that the work is really theirs.

Unconscious Influences Hindering Devolution. Every influence of inertia and suggestion tends to fix the superintending, dominating attitude in the missionary toward the Indian. It is easy for Westerners of a masterful organizing type to continue work which perchance they can do better but which should long since have been turned over to Indians. Missionaries show their oneness with the rest of humanity when possession of authority leads to the desire—unconscious though it be—to retain it.

In any field it is hard enough for missionaries to free themselves from a domineering and autocratic attitude which seems—even when falsely based—to be a natural characteristic of western races. But missionaries, in India especially, are played upon by what in another connection Compayre calls *collaborateurs occultes*—innumerable social forces that tell upon the life moulding it in spite of principles and reason. In India the white man is a *Sahib;* every one makes way for the wearer of the sun-hat; people salaam; policemen salute; the many little symbols of a submissive attitude instilled by decades of British rule are exhibited toward the missionary without the asking. All the more does he find himself surrounded by suggestions of superiority when he mingles with those classes from which most of the converts have come.

Small wonder is it that with the passing of the years, unless it has been consciously and prayerfully resisted, little ways of arrogance and patronizing superiority manifest themselves.

Many things in the mission organization itself tend to mediate this attitude to the young recruit from abroad. After a year of language study he is very frequently put in superintending charge of capable, experienced and mature Indian workers. Not infrequently the mission residence to which he is assigned adjoins what is technically called a "Christian Village" although the evils of this particular type of patriarchism in brick and mortar were denounced by Rufus Anderson sixty years ago. (7) Many things in the institutions and organizations and precedents of mission practice were worked out before the "unrest in India" suddenly awakened both ruler and missionary to the baldness of some assumptions long unchallenged.

The Imposition of Western Institutions and Standards. Missionaries seem to have been unconsciously affected by an old rationalistic notion that whenever an institution is judged rational it is applicable to all peoples in all times and places and is necessary for the development of any civilization. The assumption without discussion that that form of congregational organization which we ordinarily call a "Church" would be suited to India may not surprise us—although the Church even in its simplest form found no parallel in Indian institutions. But besides this there was the naïve carrying over of full-fledged, elaborately representative ecclesiastical systems which were the outgrowth of

an entirely different economic and political situation. At the Bombay Decennial Conference, Kali Charan Banurji said:

"Foreign Churches should not burden Indian Christians with the demands of their own matured organizations, but leave them free to start from simple beginnings and to educate themselves into complex developments such as might come naturally to them under the leading of the Divine Spirit. The attempt to make them begin at the end is responsible for their ill success hitherto in reaching the end. . . . Indian Christians may not be ripe yet for the organization in its ultimate integrity, and it is only fitting that they should be permitted gradually to work their way into it. The educative régime has the divine impress, and many needful purposes may be subserved by allowing Indian Christians duly to grow into an organization, instead of overburdening them with a cumbrous organization when they can ill afford to bear it." (119.1)

Again the conception of pastors on fixed money salaries was transferred with no questionings. In fact our modern missionary century had more than half gone before missionaries realized that the expectation that Indian churches should establish fixed salaries for their ministers really originated from custom in western churches and grew out of western conditions. It came as a distinct discovery (which in practice added greatly to the contributing capacity of the church) that their Indian minister could think in terms of voluntary service, or of eggs, chickens, rice, and other commodities more common than coin to him.

Furthermore, the essence of Christianity has not been distinguished by many a missionary from

ideas with which from childhood it has been associated, viz., an occidental type of correctness in manners as well as morals; a general diffusion of education; a certain economic level of living, below which one may not fall; a certain position given to women—in short with civilization, and hence there has been restless haste to impart these things along with Christianity. Already our civilization has introduced standards of expenditure and luxury which make it difficult for Christianity to go forward on the economic levels of oriental nations. While undoubtedly the sharing of our best in every way is an essential expression of *our* Christianity, these things are not necessarily a part of the essence of Christianity which they need at once to accept.

Still another assumption made this attempt at wholesale transfer natural, viz., that ready-made ideas could be absorbed. In this, however, they were simply embodying a widespread educational mistake of their time. We are slowly learning that even though some of the customs and institutions which we take into India do represent the highest moral judgment or practical wisdom of the West, yet the ideal for a young Church, just as much as for a child, is that it should be creative and grow from within.

Even when a large paid agency, expensive institutions and complex organizations are recognized as external to India's present life and resources, yet in the minds of most Westerners such things are demanded on account of the urgency of the missionary enterprise. How dare we patiently wait for

a small Church to grow from within when India's unreached million's call loudly from without! Hence for the sake of immediate results we have imposed ideals of efficiency, grades of agency and an organized aggressiveness that experience demonstrates is only commensurate with western resources. And in this restlessness at letting the indigenous Church move on in growth from its own level we have postponed for decades the realization of a self-supporting Church.

In connection with the consideration of these imported methods and machinery, we do well to ponder the solution of the dilemma raised by the difference in economic standards between East and West as given by an Indian mind—a missionary of the Indian National Missionary Society:

"We feel that missionary work in India, even when attempted by her own sons and daughters, is lamentably limited by the amount of money available. The Indian Christians are on the whole poor and for many years more will remain poor. Hence Indian Christians who desire to work for Christ must either place themselves under foreign control, which is distasteful, or else be content to carry on only meagre efforts, whether evangelical or educational or medical, with the necessarily limited support which their own people can give. Is there no escape from such a situation? Is not India in need of a practical demonstration of the great truth that it is not by money power, by expensive establishments and highly paid agencies that she is going to be attracted, but by the Christlike lives of individuals going about in utter simplicity and love, revolutionizing society and the world by the great dynamic of a consecrated life of service lived in communion with God, rather than by material power?" (111.4)

3. The Problem—the Euthanasia of the Mission.

It is evident, therefore, that the very success of missionary forces in raising up a Church rooted in the soil of each land brings with it what is one of the most difficult problems of modern Mission administration—viz., the adjustment of relations between the Missions and home Church on the one side and the growing, indigenous Church on the other. It is universally admitted that missionary operations are not to be permanent; but the question how they may withdraw still, for the most part, has to be worked out. Should mission-founded Churches be independent from the beginning? How in actual practice shall they be kept in touch with historical, ecumenical, vital Christianity? How can the missionaries keep from enlarging the Mission as though it were the permanent body? While academically every missionary would probably agree that complete autonomy is the final goal, what steps should be taken now? In trying to transfer responsibility from the Mission to the Church, with what departments of work should one begin? Should the Church be encouraged to take over for a given area all kinds of work now carried on by the Mission? Or should a division be made, the Church undertaking the evangelistic and pastoral work, while the Mission engages in education and medical enterprises? When an independent Church has once been established, what should be the relation of the missionary organization to it? Should the

two go on independently, or should the Mission gradually withdraw, or should they co-operate? Such are some of the questions that must be faced in adjusting or transferring responsibility. Amongst them will be found some of the most pressing problems of present-day missionary statesmanship with their call for a high degree of foresight, patience and wisdom.

It is to the historical consideration of this problem of the devolution of powers and responsibilities from foreign Mission to indigenous Church that this study addresses itself. It will be seen that many attempts have been made to solve some portion of this vast problem. Many of these attempts have been faltering and without clear vision of the path ahead. But the struggles of those who have led the way may help others to estimate the course which they must ultimately follow. A view of the complexity of the problem of devolution as it exists to-day in mid-solution will enable us to sympathize the more prayerfully and intelligently with those—both Indian and foreign—who work for the establishment of His Kingdom on this earth.

PART ONE

ECCLESIASTICAL DEVOLUTION

I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEAL OF INDEPENDENCE

ANY devolution of ecclesiastic power and responsibility from Churches engaged in foreign mission work must be fundamentally influenced as to methods and extent by their controlling aim; whether this is to build up local branches of the parent Church conceived as Catholic or to establish independent national Churches.

This aim has not always been clearly defined, but while in some cases it has been settled without struggle but with development, in others years passed before it became even an issue and in at least one notable case, up to the present time, mission policy in this respect has never been formulated. It is the object of this chapter to answer the following question: Have parent Churches wished to give ecclesiastical independence to Churches on the mission field; and, if so, when and with what development has this purpose been defined?

1. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Congregational Polity. By Congregational theory every local church has complete independ-

ency. Thus no claim to ecclesiastical authority over mission-formed churches could be made by the planting Church.

Gradual Formulation of Theory for Foreign Field. But while this was the inevitable corollary of their polity in America it was a generation after the beginning of the work of the American Board before it found definite formulation with reference to the foreign field. This was natural; for in the early stages when converts were few and churches almost non-existent the emphasis was upon evangelism. However, the abundant literature of the American Board enables us to see how the conception of an independent Church developed. There is a glimmer of this in the plan presented by the Prudential Committee in 1836 which was "by the Board deliberately and solemnly approved and adopted." In part it reads:

"The following statements are made for the purpose: first, of showing that in extending the operations of the Board among unevangelized nations, reference is had to a system, and to great ultimate results. The institutions and influence which we observe to be so effectual, under God . . . are the preaching of the Gospel, education, and the press. The preaching of the Gospel is still and ever will be the grand means of the conversion of men. The leading object of the Board, therefore, is to supply the millions embraced within the contemplated range of their operations with the preached Gospel. . . . Nor do they expect to furnish any foreign nation with preachers for many continuous generations. Heathen nations must be rendered independent of Christendom for their religious teachers as soon as possible. In no other way can this be done than by endeavoring to raise up

men in every place, men born and educated in the several countries, who may be ordained as pastors of the churches. The plans of the Board are formed with a view to this result." (11.1)

In this statement which was drawn up with definite reference to a "system and to great ultimate results" we do not find that dominant emphasis on church formation which twenty years later was to be one of the three great reconstructive messages of the Board's deputation to India.

In 1848 a clearer statement appears in an official document of the Prudential Committee: viz., "The religious liberty which we ourselves enjoy is equally the birthright of Christian converts in every part of the heathen world on coming into the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ, which they may claim as soon as they are prepared for it, just as American freedom is the birthright of our own children. The right of our children is not infringed by that independence and control which they need during their infancy and childhood." (1.10)

But the full enunciation of the principles of independence and self-help in native Churches was to come later. In 1851 Henry Venn, that great British missionary statesman and Secretary of the Church Missionary Society from 1841 to 1872, gave currency to language whose thought has had increasing formative influence ever since. In a minute on the ordination of native ministers, he says:

"Regarding the ultimate object of a mission, viewed under its ecclesiastical aspect, to be the settlement of a native Church under native pastors upon a self-supporting system, it should be borne in mind that

the progress of a mission mainly depends upon the training up and the location of native pastors, and that, as it has been happily expressed, the 'euthanasia of a mission' takes place when a missionary, surrounded by well-trained native congregations under native pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually relax his superintendence over the pastors themselves, till it insensibly ceases, and so the mission passes into a settled Christian community. Then the missionary agency should be transferred to the 'regions beyond.'" (111.1)

A few years later Rufus Anderson, that greatest of American constructive missionary statesmen and Secretary of the American Board from 1832-1866, embodied views matured through long correspondence, study and visitation of mission fields in one of the great documents of mission literature. It is found in the Annual Report of the American Board for 1856 and entitled "Outline of Mission Policy." We will quote only one small section:

"If we resolve the end of missions into its simplest elements, we shall find that it embraces (1) the conversion of lost men, (2) organizing them into churches, (3) giving those churches a competent native ministry, and (4) conducting them to the stage of independence and (in some cases) of self-propagation. Occasionally the labors of a missionary Society will terminate when its churches shall have become self-subsistent; but generally it must carry its work to the point of reliable self-development. Then, and not till then, may it advance to 'regions beyond.'" (1.2)

From this decade on the phrase "self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating" appears with ever increasing frequency as embodying the ideal for the Church on the mission field.

2. American Baptist Foreign Mission Society.

The Baptist Polity Applied to Mission Churches. The Baptists also have ever believed in the entire and absolute independence of each particular local church. Every church of Christ is according to their polity capable of self-government, and is wholly independent of all other churches, persons and bodies of men whatever, in the administration of its own affairs. Acknowledging no higher authority under Christ than itself each church recognizes that all ecclesiastical action begins with itself and with itself terminates. (38.1) Such churches will maintain friendly and associational intercourse with all of like faith and order, but to such an "Association" they are in no way ecclesiastically subject either in America or abroad.

The irenic spirit of this polity is brought out in a letter written in 1806 by the first Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society to Mr. Ward in which he says:

"The influence which a missionary in a district will have over the church or churches in that district will not be *authoritative* but *persuasive*, not official but natural; that is, the mere influence which arises from superior wisdom and experience. If it should so happen that a native pastor should have more wisdom and rectitude than the missionary of his district, he will have just as much right to advise and admonish him as the missionary." (46.10)

The Northern Baptist Convention, of which the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society is a co-operating society, embodied this conception in

the preamble to its constitution in declaring its belief "in the independence of the local church, and in the purely advisory nature of all denominational organizations composed of representatives of the churches." (37.1) Put more broadly the emphasis on the principle long held as sacred by Baptists—viz., that of the direct personal relation and accountability of the individual to God, will undoubtedly be one of their contributions to the Church in India.

Baptist procedure is so fixed in this regard that if any Association in India wished to exclude missionaries or if any local church objected to a missionary's authority so that it came to an issue, there would be no doubt as to the outcome. This was illustrated in a recent isolated instance of where the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society very nearly withdrew one of its missionaries for trying to override the authority of the local church.

Thus technically each Indian church constituted according to Baptist polity is from its beginning self-governing and independent of external control. It has a right to act without reference to missionaries and even against their very wish, although, as we shall see, it is generally not in a position to exercise this right in practice. For while theoretically the control exercised by the missionary is advisory, it can become coercive when the issue seems to the individual missionary to justify the withdrawal of financial aid upon which such universal dependence is placed by the infant church.

Church Organization Not Consciously Essential at First. While, as we have seen, it would

be impossible for Baptists to think of the Indian Church as other than independent ecclesiastically, yet there have been long periods in India when the Church as an organization to be set up did not enter very insistently into consciousness. In fact in the original Constitution of the American Baptist Missionary Union (predecessor of the present A.B.F.M.S.) we find the statement:

"The single object of this Union shall be to diffuse the knowledge of the religion of Jesus Christ by means of missions throughout the world." (23.2)

In other words evangelization—not Church formation—absorbed the thought and work of the Union and its missionaries.

But as time went on and converts were secured the essential place of the Church as an organization in the evangelization of India became more apparent. We find, therefore, this original single object more explicitly defined in the Revised Regulations of the American Baptist Missionary Union, adopted in 1859. Act. XVIII expands it into five more explicit aims:

"That the oral communication of the Gospel is the first great business of missionaries, to be attended and followed by the formation of churches, the translation and circulation of the Scriptures, the training and ordination of a native ministry, and the extension of the missionary work by the aid of native laborers." (46.4)

Further experience, as we shall see, showed the Union that it would have to emphasize the matter of church formation on the field. So in the "Manual" for the use of missionaries, issued in 1898, we find "the preaching of the gospel of Jesus

Christ in order to make disciples is the main object of missions. . . . Evangelistic work includes . . . the formation of intelligent, self-supporting Christian churches on the field." Amongst the ends to be sought in educational work are put: The training of Christian converts for intelligent recognition and discharge of their obligations as members of the Church of Christ; . . . the preparation of evangelists, Bible-women, and other lay workers for the most effective service; the training of a native ministry. (22.2) Thus three out of the five formulated ends of missionary education were contributive to Church life and growth.

For the best and most complete formulation of Baptist missionary policy we turn to the "Review of Conditions and Policies of the Missionary Union issued by their Foreign Secretary, Dr. Thomas S. Barbour, in 1907. Amongst five "fundamental ideals" there given we find two as follows:

"Early establishment of local churches—the divinely constituted agency for Christian nurture and development of efficiency in Christian service.

"Discharge of genuine functions of the Church by the local church—self administration, reception and dismissal of members, observance of the ordinances, maintenance and support of worship. Pastors should be directly related to churches and not to the mission body." (33.1)

3. The Reformed Church in America.

A Seven-Year Struggle. With Churches of other than congregational polity the granting of

ecclesiastical independence to mission-founded Churches must be a definitely raised issue. For American leadership in this we turn to the Reformed Church in America. In order to understand her policy in India it is necessary to review a most significant seven-year struggle in connection with the mission of the Reformed Church at Amoy, China. For the principle worked out there practically settled the attitude of the Reformed Church to the problem of independent Churches on its mission fields, and the records frequently show that both the General Synod of the Reformed Church and its Mission in China were conscious that they were setting a precedent for India—possibly for the mission policy of all the Churches of the Presbyterian order in all parts of the world. (79.1) Furthermore it furnishes one of the earliest modern cases of the establishment of a separate autonomous Church on non-Christian soil. Let us therefore see the fundamental problem that faced those men —men of strong convictions on both sides—from 1857 to 1864.

Briefly the situation (89.2) was as follows. The Amoy missionaries had been working in closest harmony and co-operation with the missionaries of the English Presbyterian Church, so much so that each scarcely cared whether converts were received into Church fellowship with one or the other. The Chinese converts, too, while doubtless realizing that their missionary brethren had come from different countries, yet supposed that they represented one Church. In 1857 the missionaries judged that the time had come for the organiza-

tion of the separate churches into a Presbytery or Classis.

The question arose: Would the mother Churches in England and America let their Churches in China—intermingled and intimately related from the first—be free born and independent from the start; or must they disrupt what in fact and spirit was one Church and organize some into an English Presbytery and the others into an American Classis? Fortunately the missionaries at Amoy were a unit in the conviction that they could not tear this young Church in China apart for the sake of western denominational differences and in violation of the inherent liberties of Chinese Christians, and hence they memorialized their respective home authorities for permission to erect an independent ecclesiastical body in China. To the dismay of the Amoy missionaries the General Synod in America, seeing "no insuperable difficulties in carrying into operation their system, which comprehends Presbyteries and Synods in India as well as here," directed their brethren at Amoy to erect a Classis in connection with their own Synod. (79.2)

In direct violation of this ruling of their General Synod the missionaries in Amoy in 1862 organized the "Tai-hoey," or "Great Elder's Meeting." It consisted of the missionaries and delegated elders of both the English Presbyterian and Reformed Churches. It was natural, therefore, for the subject to come before the General Synod again in 1863, when its President left his Chair to urge that the Amoy plan was (1) unconstitutional, since the Synod had no power to authorize any such self-

regulating ecclesiastical body; (2) that it was against their missionary policy from the beginning; and (3) the danger of such a precedent in mission work.

That the argument was not solely from the standpoint of China's good is seen from the final report that was brought in to the Synod in which it was stated that there was a strong desire to continue to regard the missions and missionary churches as "the objects of maternal and fostering care, and receive from them that direct reflex influence which would incite her [the home Church] to ever increasing exertions to extend abroad the kingdom of grace and truth." (79.3) It furthermore distinctly affirmed that the "committee are unable to see how it will be possible to carry the sympathies and the liberalities of the Church with an increasing tide of love and sacrifice in support of our missionary work, if it once be admitted as a precedent to form abroad whatever combinations they may choose, and aid in creating ecclesiastical authorities which supersede the authorities which commissioned them and now sustain them." (79.3)

In the light of such arguments the General Synod was not ready yet to take the unfamiliar, untried step of setting a mission-founded Church free, and hence re-affirmed its position of 1857, resolving:

"I. That the General Synod having adopted and tested its plan of conducting foreign missions, can see no reason for abolishing it; but on the contrary, believe it to be adapted to the promotion of the best interests of foreign missionary churches, and of the denomination supporting them.

"II. That the Board of Foreign Missions be, and hereby is, instructed to send to our missionaries at Amoy a copy or copies of this report, as containing the well-considered deliverance of the Synod respecting their present relations and future duty." (79.3)

Fortunately Dr. Talmage was in America on furlough and throughout the next year could plead in person the cause of the young Church in China. The English Presbyterian Church had given its consent to the Amoy plan and Dr. Talmage yearned to have his home Church exhibit the same catholicity of spirit. He prepared a pamphlet setting forth more clearly the position of the Mission at Amoy, and answering objections made to it. For Churches which still retain control over mission-founded congregations his arguments will be found to be as much to the point to-day as they were fifty years ago. With reference to the supposed advantage that integral relations to the General Synod of America would provide higher courts of jurisdiction to which appeals could be made and by which orthodoxy and good order might be better secured to the Church at Amoy, he said:

"Now, let us see whether the plan proposed will secure these advantages. Let us suppose that one of the brethren feels himself aggrieved by the decision of the Classis of Amoy and appeals to the Particular Synod of Albany, and thence to General Synod. He will not be denied the right to such appeal. But, in order that the appeal may be properly prosecuted and disposed of, the appellant and the representative of Classis should be present in these higher courts. Can this be secured? Is the waste of time, of a year or more, nothing? And where shall the thousands of dollars of necessary expense come from? Now, sup-

pose this appellant to be a Chinese brother. He, also, has rights; but how on this plan can he possibly obtain them? Suppose that the money be raised for him and he is permitted to stand on the floor of Synod. He cannot speak, read or write a word of English. Not a member of Synod can speak, read, or write a word of his language, except it be the brother prosecuting him. I ask, is it possible for him to obtain justice? But waiving all these disadvantages, the only point on which there is the least probability that an appeal of a Chinese brother would come up before the higher courts, are points on which these higher courts would not be qualified to decide. They would doubtless grow out of the peculiar customs and laws of the Chinese, points on which the missionary, after he has been on the ground for a dozen years, often feels unwilling to decide, and takes the opinion of the native elders in preference to his own. Is it right to impose a yoke like this on that little Church which God is gathering by your instrumentality, in that far-off land of China? But it is said that these cases of appeal will very rarely or never happen. Be it so, then this supposed advantage will seldom or never occur, and if it should occur, it would be a disadvantage." (89.3)

He was indignant that the home Church should ever consider her own interests above those of the infant Church in China:

"Our people do not first ask whether it is building *ourselves* up before they sympathize with a benevolent object. . . . If our people have not yet learned, they should be taught to engage in the work of evangelizing the world, not for the sake of our Church in America, but for the sake of Christ and His Church."

While this campaign of education was proceeding in America, off in China so strongly did the entire Amoy Mission feel that the Synod's position

was not only inexpedient and unwise but vitally wrong in principle, that they sent to their Board of Foreign Missions a communication that must even yet awaken emotion in the heart of anyone alive to the far-reaching significance for mission policy of this situation. In part it read as follows:

"We conscientiously feel that in confirming such an organization we should be doing a positive injury and wrong to the churches of Christ established at Amoy, and that our duty to the Master and His people here forbids this. Therefore, our answer to the action of General Synod must be and is that we cannot be made the instruments of carrying out the wishes of Synod in this report; and further, if Synod is determined that such an organization must be effected, we can see no other way than to recall us and send hither men who see clearly their way to do that which to us seems wrong." (89.4)

What could the General Synod do in the face of such conviction? In 1864 with Christian grace they resolved:

"That while the General Synod does not deem it necessary or proper to change the mission policy defined and adopted in 1857, yet in consideration of the peculiar circumstances of the Mission of Amoy, the brethren there are allowed to defer the formation of a Classis of Amoy, until in their judgment, such a measure is required by the wants and the desires of the churches gathered by them from among the heathen." (79.4)

Thus ended a most interesting chapter in the adjustment of relations between daughter and mother Churches—a chapter characterized by the most tender Christian forbearance on both sides. While in form the resolution of 1864 was but tentative,

the question was not raised again. The battle had been won not only for China but for India.

The Victory Available for India. But in India the start had been different and the inertia of this had to be overcome. What China's missionaries secured for Amoy after a seven-years' struggle by starting independently, India's missionaries requested for the Arcot group only after a long generation had passed. All through these years one can see the goal defined but the action faltering. As early as 1867 we find the first official reference in the General Synod to "the expediency of uniting Presbyterians generally in one General Assembly in India" (79.5)—a question that involved not only the problem of union but of independence. In 1875 when considering a plan of co-operation with the Presbyterian Church (South), the General Synod declared that

> "the argument for union was made not only for the purpose of expressing the confidence which these two American Churches had in each other, but chiefly with the view of contributing to the establishment in each mission country of a National Church that shall grow from its own root." (79.6)

In 1886 the Board of Foreign Missions officially stated it as their view that the relation between the native Churches and the Churches at home should be voluntary and temporary and should exist only so long as may be required by the infancy and growth of the native Churches and until they can stand alone and take care of themselves. (80.1) They furthermore judge that in a broad sense, the organization of an independent Church in every

mission country where it is practicable, and the incorporation into it of all Churches of like faith and order, would, perhaps, be found one of the most effective means for promoting self-support, self-extension and self-government among those who compose it. It would immediately become their Church; they would have a new motive to labor for its support and extension, a new and increased degree of responsibility for its order and government. (80.2)

In particular the General Synod, in contrast to its position with reference to China twenty-five years before, both permitted and advised the Classis of Arcot to initiate such measures as would bring about an independent union Church in India. (80.3)

The Final Realization. It was thus with the cordial approval of the home Church that the missionaries of the Reformed Church took their very active part in the proceedings of the Presbyterian Alliance of India. This organization was formed in 1875 to prepare for the organic union of the thirteen bodies in India, all holding to the reformed doctrines and the Presbyterian polity, and thereby to promote the stability and self-support of this Church. Besides the work of this organization in India the "Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian Polity" of Europe and America forcefully presented to the home Churches the advisability of establishing native Churches in foreign lands. (113.1)

The logical outcome of the movement that had been begun thirty years before and upon which the

General Synod had taken favorable action in 1867, 1875, and 1886, came in 1901. Almost two score years before this, as we have seen, the Reformed Church in America had reluctantly set free its Chinese congregation to form with the English Presbyterians the "Tai Hoey"; one score years before it had authorized its Japanese congregations and ministers to form with the English and Scotch Presbyterians "the Church of Christ in Japan" (113.2); over a decade before it was urging its Indian representatives to work toward an independent Church. Now in 1901 it hailed the memorial from the Classis of Arcot asking for approval of the proposed union of their Classis with the Presbytery of Madras in connection with the Free Church of Scotland Mission as marking a notable advance toward the fulfillment of our Lord's great prayer for His Church. (79.7)

One of the primary objects of this new union as stated in a note to Canon 11 of the draft Constitution of the South India United Church was the promotion of the independence of the Indian Church.

There is significant tenderness of feeling in the paper accompanying the action of the General Synod in dismissing the Classis of Arcot from its care. Here is no sign of western domination seeking authority for its own sake; but rather the picture of a mother who out of very love shrinks from the time when growth in character and self-reliance shall take away her child. It reads:

DEAR BRETHREN:

In consenting to your request that the Classis of Arcot be set off from the Particular Synod of New York and dismissed to the Synod of South India, the General Synod desires to express the warm affection which it entertains for that Classis. No selfish consideration induces us to consent to the separation. All such considerations would rather lead us to retain our hold upon it. For nearly fifty years the Reformed Church has watched its growth with parental solicitude, affection and satisfaction.

Were it to consult its own feeling it would not consent to sever the tie that has bound it so long and firmly to its heart, growing stronger with the years. So many precious lives and devoted labors, so many prayers, so much of consecrated wealth have been given to it and such rich rewards of divine blessing received through it as to make its separation from it a real sacrifice to the parent Church.

Yet the occasion is such as to fill our hearts, also, with gratitude to God. That He has so smiled upon our efforts—all too small in His service—as to enable us to make so precious a contribution to the establishment of a new and independent Church of Christ in India, of our own faith and order, henceforth to "grow from its own root," and in its native soil, is a matter of devout thanksgiving and praise to Him who only doeth wondrous things. With all the love and all the precious memories of the past fresh in our minds and hearts, we bid God-speed to this child of our affection. We assure it of the continuance of our abiding interest and love and prayers. The blessing of the Lord be upon you. We bless you out of the house of the Lord. (79.8)

On the other side of the world the Classis of Arcot of the Reformed Church in America met for the last time. Feelings of thankfulness to God could not be restrained in that they, as a Classis,

were in a position to assume the responsibilities of "growing from their own root," and entering upon the privilege of self-government and independent manhood, thus consummating in 1902 the first instance of organic union in India. (90.1)

4. Presbyterian Church in U. S. A.

Views of Secretary Lowrie. Dr. John C. Lowrie, one of the first of Presbyterian missionaries to India and Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions from 1836-1891, had no uncertain views with reference to the goal of mission work. We find him in 1864 stating that the relation between the daughter churches and their far distant mother Church is only temporary and transitional; longing for the day when they can stand alone as a native Church; and urging that both parties should pray for the day of their happy separation. (57.1)

His position would by many even yet be considered radical; for in connection with the action of the General Assembly of 1877 referred to below, he held "that the Constitution of each Church, including its legal charter, is limited to its own country, and has no ecclesiastical or legal force in foreign countries, excepting in its application to its own ministers and members as such." In other words that in strict theory, "the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America" has no jurisdiction over Presbyterian Churches not in America. (57.2) He applied this theory in urging the General Assembly to take certain action affect-

ing foreign Presbyteries which on its merits seemed to him good but which the General Assembly rejected because it would be against its constitution which by assumption applied to all foreign Presbyteries connected with the Assembly. He held that there were far larger realms than that of technical ecclesiastical control in which the Christian wisdom of the General Assembly would be needed; that in connection with questions of moment in its foreign work, counsel, sympathy and directions within limits would be required. "After a while," however, "they will be able to walk without help, and then let them set up for themselves—the sooner the better."

The Anomalous Condition for the Home Church. In the practical working out of what was involved in an integral relationship of foreign Presbyteries to the General Assembly anomalies of necessity appeared. When the writer of the General Assembly's official "Narrative of the State of Religion within the Bounds of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America" finds it necessary to include a recital of conditions in foreign Presbyteries he cannot help but remark that they

> "have hardly become so used to the closer contact of the nations as to have gotten over the feeling of strangeness at receiving reports in due form from certain missionary Presbyteries, and at finding the familiar Presbyterial machinery at work under palms or amid pagodas." (48.10)

On the other hand we are not surprised at evidence that the connection of the daughter

churches with the parent Church had not entered deeply enough into their consciousness to make these narratives from foreign Presbyteries very frequent. (48.20) The fact is that in eight of the ten years preceding the granting of ecclesiastical independence to the Presbyterian Church in India, the Assembly's accounts show that the combined contributions to the expenses of the General Assembly from churches growing out of her three missions to India amounted to absolutely nothing. (48.21)*

Naturally it was not easy for the General Assembly to keep in mind the existence of these foreign bodies as integral parts of itself and coming under its legislation. For example in 1894 the General Assembly recorded most earnestly its protest "against any deviation of national, state or municipal funds for ecclesiastical uses, by whomsoever sought or upon whatsoever pretext." The next year the Kolhapur Mission through an overture asked the General Assembly whether this declaration was intended to discourage the acceptance of such funds for like object on the foreign mission fields of the Church as well as in the United States of America; and whether it applied to the acceptance of lands or of buildings to be used in mission work. (54.1) The Assembly had to reply that its action was designed to apply to conditions existing in the United States and was in no way

*Nineteen dollars were given in the two years, 1903-4. (48.22) The General Assembly Minutes for 1914 say that the Foreign Mission Presbyteries are exempt (48.23); but the same Assembly passed a resolution urging all Presbyteries, including those heretofore exempt, to contribute in full to the Assembly funds. (48.24)

intended to discourage the acceptance of gifts for mission work in foreign lands. (48.3)

Furthermore, the abnormal relation led to inefficiency. Foreign Presbyteries so frequently declined to exercise their right to vote on overtures submitted to them by the Assembly that finally the Stated Clerk presented to the Assembly the need for action in this regard. The General Assembly resolved that inasmuch as all Presbyteries are equally entitled to vote upon every overture transmitted to the General Assembly and failure to vote upon such overtures is equivalent to a negative vote, that the Stated Clerk be instructed to make special requisition upon the foreign mission Presbyteries to consider and vote promptly upon all overtures submitted to them. (48.4)

Possibilities of Misunderstanding in the Indian Church. But such inconvenience in the way of adaptation on the part of the parent Church was as nothing in comparison with the possibility of misunderstanding and friction on the part of the growing Church in India. For example in 1887, the General Assembly found it necessary to reverse the decision of the Synod in India in connection with an Indian Minister against whom his Presbytery had brought charges. The case had been long and intricate and when to this is added the fact that the Synod in India had on technical grounds acquitted him and the Assembly ten thousand miles away had found him guilty, there arises just the kind of situation that fixes hostile attitude. (49.1)

Some years later the Assembly had to reject the

appeal of an Indian in connection with an election of elders and deacons as held in one of the churches under the direction of the Presbytery of Allahabad. (48.5) Any Indian alive to the situation must have realized that however frequently it might be asserted that in the Indian Presbyteries Indians were on an absolute ecclesiastical level with missionaries, yet when it came to the representation of the Presbytery in the General Assembly a financial difference was made for the missionary that made it inevitable that he alone should be the representative. The official statement reads: "Commissioners from Presbyteries in foreign lands, receive their necessary traveling expenses, pro rata, from and to their place of residence *in this country.*" (48.25) That in each of these cases an impartial observer would have judged the Assembly right, only emphasizes the truth that what is causing most of the strain in India between the Missions and the home Church on the one side and the growing Churches in India on the other are facts of attitude rather than facts of justice.

Reiterated Statement of Policy. Let us trace some of the steps by which both the official theory and the practice of the General Assembly shaped themselves. The first official statements with reference to the formation of independent national Churches on the foreign field were made as the outgrowth of action initiated in India. It was at the call of the General Assembly's Synod of North India, that the first steps were taken in the formation of the Presbyterian Alliance of India, to which attention has already been called. One of the As-

sembly's missionaries, Dr. J. H. Morrison, has been called "the earthly father of the Alliance." Convened in 1871 and formally organized in 1875, the next year the Presbyterian Alliance (113.10) addressed to the various branches of the Church represented in it a memorial, asking the authorization of certain steps looking toward "the ultimately complete organization of a Presbyterian Church in India." (48.6) This request was referred by the General Assembly for that year to the Board of Foreign Missions, and the Board made a special report on the subject to the Assembly of 1877. That Report was referred to the Committee on the Polity of the Church, and upon their recommendation the subject was referred to the Assembly of 1879. (48.7) In that Assembly, after this long and careful preparation, running over several years, the Presbyterian Church was able to take an advanced stand on the question of Church union with the necessarily involved problem of giving independence to the daughter Churches. The General Assembly's action read:

"In regions occupied by the Board and by the missions of other Presbyterian denominations, missionary churches, Presbyteries and Synods holding the same faith and order, should be encouraged to enter into organic relations with each other, for joint work in the common field."

The Assembly of 1880, in the most practical way, carried out the spirit of this policy, by striking from the roll the Presbytery of Japan, upon information that its missionaries in that country had become members of the union Presbyterian ecclesiastical

body there organized. The Assembly of 1886 reiterated its adherence to the same policy. (48.8)

In the General Assembly of 1887 we find them facing with still greater definiteness the problem of "the constitution of the mission Presbyteries and the relation of the mission Churches to the home Churches." Here the policy of the Church is taken as clear and settled that "as soon as these union bodies are formed, and these native ministers and Churches enter them, they have no further ecclesiastical connection with the Church at home, except through the Mission and the Board of Missions." (48.9)

Already they could point to the independent union Churches of Presbyterian polity and doctrine in Amoy (China), in Syria and in Japan. As to the other regions where such unions had not been affected "the possibilities cannot do otherwise than excite the most intense longing for the day when all minor divisions will disappear in great national organizations." India is especially noticed as a country for which such an independent union Church was an earnestly sought ideal—a hope that had to wait seventeen years for fulfilment. (48.11)

With the idea of building up "independent national Churches holding to the Reformed doctrine and the Presbyterian polity on foreign fields" the Assembly of 1887 adopted the following resolution:

"That in countries where it is possible satisfactorily to form Union Presbyteries, the further organization of Presbyteries in connection with this General Assembly is discouraged, and in countries where there

are now Presbyteries in connection with this General Assembly, but where it is possible satisfactorily to form Union Presbyteries, it is strongly urged that the steps be taken as rapidly as this can wisely be done to merge the membership in Union Presbyteries, and to dissolve the Presbyteries of this General Assembly." (48.12)

The General Assembly of 1900, definitely recognizing that the action of 1887 had in view the building of independent national Churches holding to the Reformed doctrine and Presbyterian polity, took further steps for "the furtherance of a native Church rooting itself deeply in the soil of the lands evangelized" and adopted the view of its Board of Foreign Missions that

"the object of the Foreign Missionary enterprise is not to perpetuate on the mission field the denominational distinctions of Christendom, but to build upon scriptural lines and according to scriptural principles and methods the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ." (48.13)

These principles were still further carried into action by the General Assembly's giving independence to the Presbyterian Church of Brazil in 1889 (48.14); and by granting the requests contained in three overtures from Presbyteries in Mexico that they might constitute themselves into an independent Synod of Mexico. In presenting these overtures to the Assembly the following comment appears:

"It is understood that the proposal is unanimously favored by the Board of Foreign Missions and that it is in entire harmony with the settled policy of the Foreign Board concerning missions in foreign lands,

which policy has already been approved by the General Assembly." (48.15)

That the authorities of the Church were endeavoring to keep before themselves the ideal of independent Churches on the mission fields is shown in the kind of questions raised in a pamphlet on Policy and Methods issued by the Board of Foreign Missions in 1895, viz.,

"Is it wise to impose upon the native Church the forms of organization and methods of work prevailing in the United States?

"Is there danger of the Churches being dominated by the missionaries?

"Should all unordained missionaries become *members of native churches?*

"Does the placing of ministers, supported by the Board, over congregations weaken the people's sense of responsibility for the spread of the Gospel, and for the attainment of self-support?" (60)

Later, in its formal report to the General Assembly, the Board of Foreign Missions shows their ideal definitely shaping action:

"The movement already referred to toward the organization of independent national Churches necessitates the preparation of a national ministry competent to assume the responsibilities thrust upon them. Nothing could be more illogical than to encourage the formation of such organizations and at the same time pursue a policy of repression or neglect in the matter of developing an adequate native force." (48.16)

An even clearer statement of the Board's position is given in its official answer to a request from the Presbytery of Zacatecas, Mexico:

"The ideal which the Board cherishes earnestly is the ideal of a united and independent national Church among each people—a Church in which all true believers in Christ would be united in one body, fulfilling its own functions of self-maintenance, self-government, and self-extension. . . . The Board heartily rejoices in each step which the Church may take toward the further attainment of the ideal which it cherishes for itself and which the Board unreservedly cherishes for it." (61)

The Attainment. While the authorities at the home base were reiterating their position, efforts to this end were being continued in India. Five Councils of the Presbyterian Alliance were held between 1875 and 1890, but no decisive action in the line of organic union was secured, and for a decade interest in the project in India seemed to wane. The Alliance was given new life by the actual organic union in 1902 of the Classis of Arcot and the Presbytery of Madras in connection with the Free Church of Scotland Mission. (113.10)

The officers of the Alliance drafted a letter to the various mother Churches, in which they confidently expressed their hope that these Churches would give them their blessing and grant to their representatives in India the necessary authority for constituting the Presbyterian Church in India. "The Native Church of India calls for an indigenous Presbyterian Church, and it would be worse than a blunder if the mother Churches, who have perforce brought with them to India the different divisions and names, did not do everything in their power to have these obliterated." (113.3) The General Assembly in 1903 recorded its approval

of the union (48.17) and in 1904 formally dismissed its Synod of India to unite with the eight other Presbyterian bodies to form the Presbyterian Church of India. (48.18) Thus finally was ecclesiastical independence gained by this section of the Church in India. The gaining of real administrative independence and autonomy, as we shall see, is a much longer story.

5. The Methodist Episcopal Church.

Ecumenical Methodism. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church has made no official pronouncement as to whether its ideal is to give ecclesiastical independence to churches on the mission field. "Ecumenical Methodism," however, is a phrase increasingly used by Methodist leaders and by those outside their Church they are usually associated with the ideal of an all-inclusive Church. When the discussion was up in 1888 as to whether a bishop should be given to India one argument against it was that it would seriously imperil the most important feature of their work at that time, namely the close intimate connection between the home and the foreign Churches. (96.1)

The ecumenical ideal is not confined to any one portion of the Church. It forms the peroration of the Bishop's address at the quadrennial Central Conference for Southern Asia in the following words:

"Before many years we may expect to see in our General Conference the Chinaman greeting the Bengali, the Burman fraternizing with the Hindustani,

the Tamil and Kanarese mingling with the Gujarati and Punjabi, while the Australian, American, English, German, and Scandinavian missionaries from more distant fields will still have a place and a responsibility in the great council." (101.10)

In the Episcopal Address at the General Conference of 1908 in reference to what was practically the enforced grant of independence to the Japanese Church it was remarked that "some regret the separation as affecting our ecumenical quality and tendency," and the General Conference is cautioned against further authorization of independent Methodist Churches to which subsidies would have to be given after control had been surrendered. (95.16) In 1912 the General Conference declared its hearty sympathy with any wise and well-directed plans for Methodist federation in China, but adopted a resolution directing that such plans should not involve a severance of organic connection with the various home Churches. (95.17)

The most deliberately thoughtful and eloquent statement of this position is to be found in the address of Bishop Bashford before the General Conference in America in 1912:

"The whole trend of modern history is toward world-wide affiliations; . . . The key to 20th century is internationalism as nationalism was of the 19th century. . . . It will be a thousand pities if at the very time when Christ's conception of a universal kingdom is beginning to capture the imagination of the world, Methodism assembled in a General Conference in which representation of twenty nations sit side by side should attempt to reverse the Divine Providence, abandon her birthright embodied in John Wesley's motto, 'The world is my parish,' and begin the

organization of a national Church for China, a national Church for Mexico, a national Church for Siberia. Hence we are glad to report that after free discussion of the national as over against the universal Church, the Central Conference for China on the eloquent appeal of a Chinese statesman that the Chinese Methodists keep the cross above the flag and maintain their seat around the family hearth stone, voted overwhelmingly against the national conception and for the maintenance by Chinese Methodists of their birthright in ecumenical Methodism." (95.18)

The Ideal of National Churches. But this has not always been the ideal of Methodism. When the General Conference of 1856 found that their desire to appoint an African Bishop conflicted with the third restrictive rule of the Book of Discipline, in that the formation of an African Bishopric would be a localized Bishopric while the restrictive rule provides only for a general superintendency, two of the three solutions suggested in the Episcopal address were most radical—that the General Conference should appoint a Bishop and send him to organize an independent Methodist Episcopal Church of Africa; or it should let the Liberians organize themselves, elect their Bishop and send him to America for ordination. In the discussion on the floor of the Conference it was urged that the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church is exclusively limited to the United States of America; that they proposed to do no more than was sanctioned by the usages of primitive Methodism; and that the action of the Conference should be in the direction of the establishment of an independent Church in Africa. (96.3)

Nor by any means does ecumenical Methodism represent the ideal of all even now. A few years ago during the general discussions of union the Methodists of India were charged, as so often happens, with the policy of perpetuating indefinitely the close relation of Churches organized on the mission field to the denomination sending out the mission. The charge was resented by the editor of the *Indian Witness* and the examples of independence given to Japan and Canada were cited as to what Methodism had done. (110.1)

The clearest statement of the non-ecumenical view was made by Bishop Thoburn twenty years ago, when he wrote:

"We may accept it as certain, beyond any shadow of a doubt, that in every nation under the sun our Christian converts will want to assume the management of their own affairs as soon as they are permitted to do so. It is utterly useless to find fault with this disposition. It is inseparable from our character as human beings, and we might as well quarrel with the fact that our converts will feel the natural sensation of hunger and thirst, as with their wish to manage affairs which they instinctively perceive to belong to themselves. If we are unwise, it will be very easy to quarrel with the inevitable, and in every such contest those who take up with the quarrel are to feel either surprise or displeasure when we discover that our brethren in Christ in other countries are led, as if naturally, to maintain a position which we never think of abandoning in our own case for a single moment; nor is it desirable that these converts should act otherwise. If we can not build up Churches in foreign lands with indigenous resources and capable of self-government, we might as well abandon all our attempts to overthrow the false religions

of the nations and to make this earth a Christian world. Accepting, then, a fact so obvious as this, it requires the highest wisdom on the part of all missionary managers to co-operate with the natural tendency of events on the mission field, and to develop an indigenous government of every Christian Church as rapidly as possible. For a time—and it possibly may be a long time —the Church in a mission field must be more or less closely connected with the body which has, under God, brought it into existence; but in order to secure its best and highest possibilities as rapidly as possible, its local administration should be made autonomous at the earliest possible date, and this should be kept constantly in view. It would be rash and unwise in the extreme to cast off a foreign Church at the very day of its organization, and no great change of this kind should ever be precipitated in such a manner as to imperil any important interest; but on the other hand it is as short-sighted as it is vain for any Church to assume that it can control the interests of another Church on the opposite side of the globe, make laws for it, sanction or veto its measures, and administer its interests in all matters great and small. In every mission field it ought to be accepted as a settled maxim that the foreign element, like the house of Saul, will wax weaker and weaker, while the indigenous element, like the house of David, is to wax stronger and stronger, until at length the consummation to be desired by both parties is reached, and full autonomy given in every separate nation to the Church or Churches of the nation." (105.1)

Two years later in his Bishop's address before the Central Conference for India and Malaysia he pointed out how slowly the leading Missionary Societies of the world were beginning to perceive that the Churches raised up by their agents in foreign lands must in a large measure manage their own affairs, direct their own advanced movements,

and in time depend upon their own resources; and how the time was probably at hand when this would be impressed upon the friends of missions, both at home and abroad, in a manner which could not be mistaken. (101.2)

Deduction from Her History. Doubtless if Indian Methodists should request independence and should accompany that request with the assurance that they were capable of a reasonable measure of self-support the petition could not be refused consistently with the Church's history. It had itself assumed its independence in 1784 as the result of the independence of the United States; changed social conditions led to the formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church South in 1845; for 36 years the work in Canada was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, but in 1828 they relinquished their supervision, and the societies in Canada became a separate and independent Church under the name of the "Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada." Later came unions in Canada with six other Methodist bodies which dissolved their connection with parent bodies by mutual consent. (226.19)

We can further judge as to what the Methodist Episcopal Church would do if asked to grant independence to its Indian churches, by noting that when really forced to a decision its Commissioners thus addressed the Japanese delegates who were about to form the Methodist Church of Japan:

"That you may better understand our spirit and purposes, permit us to speak with brotherly frankness

concerning the matter submitted to us and the basis we have adopted. We need not remind you that the people of the United States and Canada respect the right of every other civilized people to regulate their own affairs without compulsory interference from abroad. The governing bodies of our several Churches did not hesitate to recognize this principle when they were petitioned to grant independent organization to their societies in Japan, though we dare not conceal the fact that their action was taken not without regret, and even with serious misgivings in the minds of many, as to the expediency of such a radical movement at this juncture, while we have as yet so very few self-supporting Churches in the empire. If our teaching had been in any way harmful, or our administration oppressive, or our missionaries unkind or unworthy, we could not have wondered at the desire for the organization of an independent native Church. But in all respects we were assured to the contrary; and the one reason assigned for the immediate independence of our Japanese societies was the belief of the petitioners that with a distinctively national organization and following their own plans, our Japanese preachers and people could more effectively carry forward the work of evangelizing their countrymen. The sincerity of that conviction was not questioned by either of our General Conferences, nor did they choose to raise a contention as to the soundness of the reasoning that supported it." (95.21)

The Demands of Efficiency. The Methodist Episcopal Church would be untrue not only to her history but to the practical demands of efficiency to which she is so alive if she were to refuse a serious request for independence from India. No self-respecting indigenous Church could long be content to have as their highest Church court a body which as the Book of Discipline asserts must

meet "at such a place in the United States of America as shall have been determined," (99.1) nor could she face the financial strain of taking adequate representation from America to a General Conference in China or India. One only needs to be shaken free, as was Bishop Thoburn, from unpondered presuppositions to see how inevitable independence is. Thus after facing for eight years as the single Bishop for India the problems of that rapidly growing section of their Church, he attended the General Conference of 1896. In his "Missionary Apprenticeship" he tells how he was not long in making the observation

"that this great body, with its immense responsibilities and limited time, would never be able, as a permanent arrangement, to legislate for a Church spread out over the whole globe. In the first place, it must necessarily be a physical impossibility. The work at hand could not be attended to satisfactorily and it was manifest at a glance that the new and strange questions which must from time to time arise in twenty or more foreign countries, could never obtain a fair hearing, to say nothing of a proper solution, from such a body. In the next place, it was quickly evident that all questions from abroad would be pressed into American moulds, and that antipodal legislation would not in every case adapt a proper means to a desired end. Lastly, it was constantly evident that every proposed measure would be, first of all, weighed in the balance with American interests, and if it were found to interfere with these it would stand a very poor chance of adoption. One week at the General Conference convinced me that in the fullness of time there must be a legislative body, with carefully defined powers, in each separate nationality." (104.1)

That it is difficult for the home Church to keep

in mind its ecumenical character is shown by the fact that in its official "Book of Discipline" in three out of the four places where it attempts to cover all forms of civil government under which the Church holds real estate the phrase "States and Territories" is used. (99.2) It is to this book that one must turn for Methodist law in whatever foreign country and yet it says with reference to the expense of its various Boards that the Commissioners on Finance shall make an equitable apportionment of the same to the various Annual Conferences even though it could hardly be expected that India should feel responsibility for such Boards as those for Freedmen, Home Missions and Church Extension as constituted in America. (99.3) Amongst the Disciplinary Questions which must according to law be put at every Conference are those asking whether the provisions of the Discipline concerning the Conference Boards of Foreign Missions, Home Missions and Church Extension have been carried out—a most excellent plan for securing efficiency amongst those Conferences which support these benevolences—but hardly apropos in a foreign Conference. (99.4)

Writing from the standpoint of a South American Bishop, Homer C. Stuntz in an article entitled "Wanted: A Cosmopolitan Book of Discipline" says:

"Manifold are the embarrassments of those who are called upon to administer the affairs of our Church in the ends of the earth; they follow the Discipline literally. The longer thoughtful men have toiled at the task the more clear has it become to them that

the 'little black book' has been largely made for the United States by General Conference delegates, of whom an overwhelming preponderance were from the United States and thought in terms of the land that had horizoned them from infancy." (109)

The Situation as it is. Turning to the actual situation in India we do not find there an Indian Church, ecclesiastically independent, as the result thus far of the Methodist Episcopal Church. All Indian Christians connected with this Church are *de facto* members of an organization that admits no national boundaries. As an integral part of this Church are certain congregations composed wholly or mainly of Indians and located in India. Only in this looser sense can the term Indian Church be used in this connection.

Methodist literature and reports in India fairly throb with effort and accomplishment in connection with self-support and self-extension, but there is a marked absence of the third element—self-government—in that triad which is one of the most common phrases in the literature of other Boards. For instance, in the last annual report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church they call most sympathetic attention to the native congregations springing up on the mission fields and united with their missionaries "in the bonds of a common belief, polity and life purpose," and draw attention to the first two only of those three great problems of a growing Church. (97.1)

The conference of representatives of the Church Missionary Society, meeting at Allahabad fifteen years ago, recorded it as their opinion that the

result of their work "should be the formation of an independent Indian Church, governed by its own Synods, under an Indian Episcopate, and in communion with the Church of England." (113.13)* We do not find such a representative declaration of policy with reference to the Methodist Episcopal Church. There can be no doubt as to their earnest desire that India should attain financial and evangelistic independence, but the Board of Foreign Missions has no definite policy in regard to ecclesiastical and administrative independence. (108) In short, for the great body of the Church in America the question of indigenous Churches, ecclesiastically independent, has simply not become a live problem for all mission fields and no great distinction in thought is made between the spread of Methodism and the spread of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

*It is interesting to note that one great society had the foresight to perceive from the first that such questions would arise, and embodied its answer to them in its constitution. In Article III of the Plan and Constitution of the London Missionary society we find the following: "It shall be left (as it ought to be left) to the minds of the persons whom God may call into the fellowship of His Son . . . to assume for themselves such form of church government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God" (111.2) For the position of the United Brethren, cf. (123.1)

II

THE ECCLESIASTICAL RELATIONSHIP OF FOREIGN MISSIONARIES

ADMITTING that in general the goal is an ecclesiastically independent Indian Church, the question arises: Can this ideal be best secured by missionaries identifying themselves with Indian ecclesiastical bodies; by maintaining complete separation; or by some plan of consultative membership on the part of the missionary? Will the devolution of ecclesiastical powers and government be best secured from without or from within the Church on the mission field? In practice this has proved to be a most important as well as most difficult problem. It was one of the points about which most discussion took place in the formation of the Presbyterian Church in India and of the South India United Church.

The Intra Muros Relationship. It will be seen that important educational principles are involved. On the one side are those who argue that the training of the native Churches in the art of self-government can best proceed from within; that we ought to share with our brethren in mission lands the trials and responsibilities of building up strong Churches; that the Churches concerned need not only our counsel and direction but often the

exercise of ecclesiastical authority over them; in other words, that the Indian Church can best be helped by the missionary *intra muros*. Moreover, they would say that it is helpful to the missionary to throw his lot in completely with the native Church; that his true attitude and spirit may best be represented by the words: "Forget also thine own people and thy father's house;" that this tends to the most cordial relations with the people of a given country; that the missionary should be under local ecclesiastical jurisdiction rather than under some court thousands of miles away; and that if the missionary does not so identify himself with local ecclesiastical bodies there is danger of his becoming an unauthorized quasi Bishop over the Churches with which he is connected. Some few in favour of the full membership of missionaries in native ecclesiastical bodies acknowledge that if they were only consultative members without the real power to vote they would lose all interest and would not attend the ecclesiastical bodies. Finally it is said that the principle of the unity of all Christians is at stake; and that there should be the visible exemplification that all are members of one body.

The ab Extra Relationship. On the other hand there are those who would say that the best way to train a Church is the same as a child—set it on its own feet, expect it to make decisions for itself —i.e., *ab extra*. They would argue that this plan secures more rapid development through bearing responsibility; that the Church should be started on the basis on which it is expected eventually to

rest; that all the advantages of training and advice can be better secured by missionaries in a consultative capacity; that if sufficient influence cannot be secured by the missionary through force of character and personal worthfulness, it is futile to secure it through a mere vote; and that it makes plain that the foreigner does not wish to rule, but only to help and thus avoids that irritation and friction that sooner or later must spring up where persons of different nationalities, traditions and customs each have voting powers. They would hold that this separation is not a question of introducing race distinctions into a Church, but simply the very necessary preservation of proper distinctions between the functions of a Mission and the functions of a Church. Furthermore, the frequent accusation in the Orient by non-Christians that the Church is foreign would find one good answer if Church government were wholly in the hands of the natives, so that no authoritative part were taken my missionaries.

Still other arguments for this position, by no means so sound, are used by some. That the average missionary does not want to sever his connection with the home Church; that his brethren at home will be more interested in him if he retains his membership with them; that on his return he may be eligible to preside over their highest assemblies—such arguments are hardly worthy an enterprise whose very glory consists in self-sacrificing unrequited service.

Purpose of this Chapter. It is the purpose of this chapter, not to answer this question theoret-

ically, but to show historically what have been the legislative decisions on the problem of the ecclesiastical relationship of foreign missionaries. In the following chapter we shall consider further the merits of this question.

1. The Presbyterian Church in U. S. A.

General Assembly Action 1836-98 Consistently for the Intra Muros Plan. We will begin this chapter with the Presbyterian Church since in it we have the fullest and most varied history on this subject. For over half a century this question has been a subject for legislation. It will be seen how the policy has passed through successive stages and how even to-day there is unanimity neither in theory nor practice. It is still one of the practical problems of mission administration.

The policy that was not to find radical restatement for sixty years is thus officially expressed in 1838:

> "That in the judgment of this assembly the ministers who are located as foreign missionaries permanently out of the bounds of their respective Presbyteries, ought, where they are sufficiently numerous, and where they are so located as to render occasional intercourse possible, in all cases to organize themselves into Presbyteries, and gather the converts whom God may give them into Presbyterian churches, ordaining elders in them all." (48.35)

The earliest existent "Manual for the Use of Missionaries" issued by the Board of Foreign Missions (that of 1862) places this judgment of the General Assembly in the hands of every missionary:

"The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church have directed all their foreign missionaries wherever it is practicable to form themselves into Presbyteries. The powers and duties of this scriptural and important judicatory are well understood by the Church at home and the missionaries abroad. A bond of union, of equality and confidence is thus established among themselves and between them and the Church at home. This union of feeling and interest, and of the most cherished hopes and prospects is from the commencement of great importance and the anticipations for the future are full of promise. When by the blessing of God, Churches are established in the respective foreign fields, the correspondence between their judicatories and the General Assembly, whether that correspondence be by letters or by delegates, will be of deep and encouraging interest, uniting those distant Churches with the Churches at home in the bonds of truth and love." (51.1)

We have evidence that this direction of the General Assembly was followed by missionaries in those days, for Secretary Lowrie, in a volume published in 1868, says that the ordained missionaries became members of the Presbyteries which had been organized in their respective fields of labor. (56.1)

The "Manual" of 1873 is more explicit:

"Ministers should connect themselves with Presbyteries, when Presbyteries exist, at the first meeting after their arrival, taking their letters of dismission from Presbyteries at home with them for this purpose." (51.2)

The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in 1877 formulated at some length a policy with reference to the ecclesiastical relations of its mis-

sionaries. This was in reponse to the request of the General Assembly of the year before (48.26) which had referred to the Board a memorial from the Synod of India concerning steps being taken there to secure larger co-operation between European and American bodies having the Presbyterian polity. The Board's report to the Assembly shows what complex consideration surrounded the solution of this question of ecclesiastical relationship. They had endeavored to obtain the fullest possible information through writing to all their ordained missionaries and consultation with Secretaries of other Boards. The result discovered a total lack of unanimity either as to opinion or as to practice. The draft resolution brought in as a result of their deliberations contained several excellent provisions such as the equal possibility of representation in General Assembly for native and American; the limiting of overtures concerning America to America, and the limiting of appeals in mission churches to the highest Church court of the land concerned. As to the immediate question of this chapter their resolution read: "Each Presbytery shall consist of all ministers, native and foreign. . . ." In the case of union Presbyteries there was to be the right of full representation on the part of foreign members and churches in the General Assembly without affecting their relations to the local Presbyteries. (48.27)

It is evident that the object of this minute was to provide for ecclesiastical union in each field, along with the maintenance of organic relations on

the part of the missionaries to the home Churches. This was the reason for introducing in the second section the expedient of recognizing a part of a missionary Presbytery as entitled to representation in the General Assembly—the other parts being represented in their respective home assemblies; and this was also one of the reasons for limiting the right of appeal to the highest Church court of the country in question.

The General Assembly, however, hesitated to adopt these resolutions so carefully drawn up by the Board of Foreign Missions. They doubted the advisability of those portions of the report relating to appeals, certain practical matters, and representation in cases where several Missions were in the same field. (57.3) Hence the report was referred to a Committee and the resolutions, amended so as to provide for these objections, were not passed until 1879. The amended resolutions as passed, however, reaffirm the clause that interests us most in connection with this chapter, viz., "that each Presbytery shall consist of all the ministers, native and foreign." (48.28)

But the question was not an academic one; issues of practical policy in Church formation caused it to come up again. The General Assembly of 1886 (48.29) appointed a Special Committee to go into the whole subject of the ecclesiastical relation of American ordained missionaries. This Committee, in 1887, made an elaborate report containing the last official and explicit ruling of the General Assembly on this difficult question. The report recognized the connection of this ques-

tion with the cause of Church union, the danger of wounding the feelings of missionaries, and the difficulty of laying down a rule which, while expedient in one region, might not be so in another; or which, while it might ultimately serve as a good rule, yet might need to be approached gradually.

The importance of this official action of 1887 in the Presbyterian Church, as well as the light it throws upon the difficult problem of this Chapter, justifies the perusal, with some care, of a portion of the report:

"There are two opposite extremes as to possible methods. One would be to say that all our foreign missionaries in all cases where these union bodies are organized, and they enter them, must at once and entirely sever their connection with the home Presbyteries. But this would be to overlook serious apprehensions which some of the missionaries express, if they were thus subjected completely to the rule of the foreign bodies in which the natives would have control. It would be to overlook the fact that some missionaries and some missionary Boards think that at least in certain parts of the world it is best for the new national Churches that the foreign ministers should be only advisory members. It would also be to overlook the desirability of keeping up a living sympathy between our own Churches at home, and our brethren who go to the unevangelized nations, and that too by some closer bond than is furnished in our Board alone.

"The opposite extreme would be to say that our ordained American missionaries should remain members of the home Presbyteries, or of foreign Presbyteries in connection with our own Assembly, and leave to the native ministers and Churches the organization and control of the Union Presbyteries, except as advice

might be allowed from foreign missionaries as advisory members. If we concede that there may be cases in which this is best, it certainly is not desirable except where circumstances compel it. One of the Secretaries of the Board in the answer proposed to the inquiry of the Presbyterian Council has said, that 'in order to guard this independence of a native Presbytery against possible danger arising from inexperience, it is the belief of the Board that the ordained missionaries of all the missions represented should be members thereof with full powers until such time as it shall be thought best, in view of the advancement of the native ministry and the approximation of the native Churches to entire self-support, for the foreign Presbyters to withdraw, and leave the national Church entirely to its self-control.' This is wise. Besides, do we not owe it to our native ministers and Churches on our mission fields, to show our confidence and our fraternity, by the fullest possible identification of our missionaries and their families with these native Churches and Presbyteries? Some of the oldest of our missionaries write strongly in favor of the most complete identification that is practicable.

"Between these two extremes various middle positions have been suggested, or are conceivable. Most of these bear the impress of local circumstances, and are only temporary expedients. What is needed is such a declaration of policy as will leave no doubt as to the wish of the Church at home, and yet which will allow all reasonable liberty of action in peculiar circumstances. Your Committee, after the most careful consideration, find the solution of the problem, in the application of the usual practice of the Church, when ministers remove into countries where other Churches of our own order and polity exist. That practice is to take letters of dismissal from the Presbytery at home which they leave, to that within whose bounds they remove elsewhere; and if this is not done, then by letter or otherwise to satisfy the Presbytery as to the course pursued. We do not think that the General

Assembly should compel any missionary to join a Union Presbytery, and especially not if the result must be separation from the home Presbytery; but we do believe that it should encourage and stimulate such a course as strongly as is possible by its counsel. When such a dismissal is taken, and received by the Union Presbytery, the missionary would thereby cease to be a member of the Presbytery from which he came. . . .

"The following resolutions are recommended for adoption:

"1. That in order to build up independent national Churches holding to the Reformed doctrine and Presbyterian polity on foreign fields, the more general and complete identification of our missionaries with the native ministers and Churches and other foreign missionaries on these fields, is of the most vital importance and needs to be pushed as rapidly as is consistent with a due regard to the interests of all parties to these unions. . . .

"3. That in the case of our ordained foreign missionaries who are not in full membership of Union Presbyteries covering the territory where they reside, it is urged that so soon as practicable, they become full members; and also that when our foreign missionaries are full members of these or as rapidly as they become such, they are urged to ask letters of dismissal from their Presbyteries to these Union Presbyteries; and, it is hereby ordered, that so soon as these letters are accepted, they cease to be regular members of these Presbyteries.

"4. That in case any missionary thinks it undesirable to make this transfer of ecclesiastical membership, the decision as to the question shall be left to the home Presbytery to which he belongs; before which body, if so desired by it, he shall lay his reasons for the delay; and the Presbyteries are requested to use patience in dealing with such cases.

"5. That each home Presbytery shall from year to year, in its statistical report, place on a supplementary roll, to be published with the remainder of the report

in the Minutes of the General Assembly, the names of all ordained missionaries who, having been sent out by it, are still engaged in our foreign missionary work, but who, by joining Union Presbyteries in harmony with the Reformed doctrine and Presbyterian polity, have severed their former membership with the home Presbytery.

"6. That in all regions where, through the organization of Union Presbyteries, there are no Presbyteries in connection with this Assembly, each mission organized as such under our Board of Foreign Missions may send to the General Assembly an ordained missionary, or ruling elder, as a delegate; and the standing rules of the Assembly are hereby so amended that such delegate is entitled to sit as an advisory member in the Assembly, and to speak, under the rules, on all questions, and that his expenses from his domicile in this country to and during the Assembly and return, shall be met as those of Commissioners out of the funds of the Assembly; and further that Synods be requested to make a suitable provision for a similar representation at their meetings. . . ." (48.31)

This full and explicit statement, which declares that the complete identification of missionaries with mission Presbyteries is a matter "of the most vital importance," and "should be pushed as rapidly" as possible, still stands as the ruling of the General Assembly. The interesting thing is that, as we shall see, it is diametrically opposed to some of the best and most experienced judgment in this Church to-day. At that time the study of mission policy had not become so insistent as at present, and it was still a quarter of a century before Edinburgh had focused attention on the "Church in the Mission Field."

The Beginnings of a Change in Policy. The

beginning of the change in attitude can be seen in 1892 in a ruling of the Board of Foreign Missions concerning the direction of their Manual that ordained missionaries should connect themselves with Presbyteries "at the first meeting after their arrival." (51.2) It was to be henceforth considered as "advisory rather than mandatory." (49.3)

Another indication that a change in policy was gathering momentum in the Board, is seen a few years later in their decision that the presence of missionaries in native ecclesiastical bodies was not a matter of sufficiently vital importance for the Board to continue to pay their traveling expenses to such assemblies. The principle at stake, however, was larger than this one point, and was judged of sufficient importance to send a copy of the resolution to every mission of the Board. It shows a distinct step in advance in devolving responsibilities to the native Churches. After pointing out what a steadily increasing financial burden to the Board such payment of traveling expenses would be, when already there were six Synods and twenty-five Presbyteries on the foreign field, it continued:

"The Board further feels that as a point of principle and irrespective of the funds which may or may not be available, it is a serious question how far it is wise or possible for the Board to assume financial responsibility for the ecclesiastical meetings of the native Churches. The Board is in sympathy with the organization of Presbyteries and Synods on the foreign field wherever the circumstances render them expedient. Indeed, it regards the establishment of a vigorous and wisely-organized native Church as one of the chief objects of missionary effort. But the Board also be-

lieves that this native Church should and must become self-supporting, and while it freely recognizes the necessity for giving some financial aid in the earlier stages, yet it feels that such aid does not properly extend either for the natives or for the foreign missionaries to the use of missionary funds from America for a class of expenditures which at home are generally borne by the ministers and elders themselves, many of whom are not better able to bear the expense than their brethren abroad." (49.6)

Implicit General Assembly Action in 1898. This gradually changing policy in the Board of Foreign Missions expressed itself the next year in an official action of the General Assembly of the Church. For while the policy enunciated in 1838 and so strongly reaffirmed in 1887 still stands as the ruling of the General Assembly, action was taken in 1898 which implicitly involves the reverse solution of the question. While stated in connection with a certain local area, its reference, both in the mind of its framer (71) as well as in its utilization ever since in the Board's Manual, is quite general and was intended to prepare the way for missionaries to withdraw from Presbyteries on the mission field.*

*Some have held that the following action of the General Assembly of 1901 requires missionaries to become members of Presbyteries in mission fields: "Every Presbytery has oversight of the work within its own bounds. If a minister of another Presbytery refuses to connect himself with the Presbytery within whose bounds he labors, the Presbytery may refuse him permission to continue his labors within their bounds, and may complain to the Presbytery of which he is a member, in case he continues his labors without such permission." (48.32) But evidently the Committee of the Assembly that framed this action had in mind ministers working within the bounds of a Presbytery in the United States but refusing to connect themselves with it. cf. (67.1) The action of 1898, therefore, is the last referring to the foreign field.

It reads:

"That in the judgment of the Assembly the best results of mission work in Brazil and other foreign fields will be attained only when right lines of distinction are observed between the functions of the native Churches and the functions of the foreign Missions; the Missions contributing to the establishment of the native Churches and looking forward to passing on into the regions beyond when their work is done, and the native Churches growing up with an independent identity from the beginning, administering their own contributions and resources unentangled with any responsibility for the administration of the Missions or of the funds committed to the Missions." (48.33)

The next year the direction in the Manual which had stood for twenty-six years, but which in 1892 was made "advisory rather than mandatory," was entirely rescinded by the Board. (49.4) In each of the four editions of the "Manual for Use of Missionaries" since 1899 the action of the General Assembly of 1898 just quoted has been inserted as defining the "relations of the Missions and native Churches and Presbyteries." (51.3)

Missionaries as Assessors. So far we have considered legislation with reference to two courses only—the missionary might retain his ecclesiastical connection with the home Church or might transfer it wholly to the Church on the mission field. Still a third possible solution demands attention; the missionary might, while retaining full membership in the home Presbytery, become an assessor *

*An assessor is a term to express the position of an office-bearer whose full standing is in one court which has jurisdiction over him, but who is appointed for a longer or a shorter time to act as a member of another.

in the Presbytery abroad. While some Churches of Presbyterian polity at work in India do permit such an arrangement* it has never been allowed by the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

The subject came up again when the missionaries in Korea asked the Assembly to rule that missionaries who are members of Korean Presbyteries should be members of the same only so far as concerns the rights and privileges of voting and participating in all the proceedings, but that ecclesiastically they should be subject to the authority and discipline of their respective Churches, retaining their full ecclesiastical connection with those Churches. (77.1) But the Assembly held that a minister cannot be a member of two Presbyteries at the same time. All the more would it be true that he could not be at one time a member of two independent national Churches.

Present Practice and Trend for the Future. As far as India is concerned, the most recent statement on this question of the ecclesiastical relationship of missionaries is found in the "Findings" of the Conference held in India by one of the Board Secretaries with the Western India Mission. This Conference passed a resolution stating that while for the present it seemed wise for missionaries to be members of the Indian ecclesiastical bodies, they should endeavor to be advisory rather than executive members, looking to the time when they can withdraw altogether; that they must decrease while the Indian brethren increase. (68.1)

*For example, the Reformed Church in America and the Scotch Presbyterians.

In reviewing the Findings of this Conference the Board of Foreign Missions showed how earnestly it was seeking a change in missionary practice by approving this Finding in a significantly altered form:

"That while the Board still questions the advisability of missionaries being members of the Indian ecclesiastical bodies, so long as the Mission deems it wise that they should be members, they should endeavor to be advisory rather than executive members, looking to the time when they can withdraw altogether. They must decrease while the Indian brethren increase." (49.5)

As to actual present practice, Presbyterian missionaries in India, with but few exceptions, have transferred their ecclesiastical relationship to the "Presbyterian Church in India," in accord with precedents established under the old directions of the Board. We have here an example of the unique situation of ordained missionaries being connected with another Church, and having the right only of the floor without vote in their own home Church.

While at present the Board of Foreign Missions gives no official direction on this question, leaving each recruit to work it out for himself, it is interesting that the avowed policy of leaders in the Board is directly opposed to past rulings of the General Assembly and present practice of most foreign missionaries. This new position is taken definitely in behalf of the native Churches. For example, Dr. Arthur J. Brown, one of the four Secretaries of the Board, wrote, in 1909:

"The opinion of our Board and of a large and growing number of missionaries throughout the world, and the plain requirements of our increasingly complicated relations with the rapidly growing native Churches, are in accord with the declaration of the Executive Committee of the Southern Presbyterian Church to the General Assembly of 1886: 'The prevailing view in our Church favors the method of having Presbyteries on mission ground composed exclusively of native presbyters, the missionaries holding only advisory relations to the Presbytery.'" (67.3)

The judgment of Dr. Robert E. Speer, another of the Board's Secretaries, is as follows:

"We admit that the view that a missionary should never identify himself ecclesiastically with a native Church cannot be set up as a fundamental principle. Whether we should do so or not depends upon what the effect of his course will be upon the realization of the ideal of a truly independent national Church. We are disposed to believe, however, that that ideal and the distinction which certainly exists between such a Church and a foreign missionary agency can best be served by the missionary's retention of his home connection, by the preservation of the integrity of the native Church as a national organization, and by separate but co-operative activity."*

Summary of the Presbyterian Position. The General Assembly throughout has urged explicity that missionaries identify themselves with ecclesiastical bodies on the field; implicitly in one action (1898) it opens the way for their withdrawal. As to the Board's "Manuals for the Use of Missionaries," from 1862-1904 they contained the explicit direction for missionaries to join Presbyteries on

*The views of Drs. Brown and Speer will be found at length in 126.2; 124.1; 67.2; 66.1; 65.1.

the field; since 1904 they contain no direction but quote the implicit action of General Assembly of 1898. The Board itself at first advised the missionaries to join Presbyteries on the field; in 1892 such direction was made advisory only; at present it has no definite rule on the subject, and has long since ceased to place any constraint on missionaries to take their letters from the home Presbyteries as was done in the early years. In actual practice at present most Presbyterian missionaries do belong to Indian Presbyteries but the trend of expert opinion is very distinctly that the time has come to withdraw.

2. The Reformed Church in America.

The history of the problem of the ecclesiastical relationship of the Arcot missionaries to the Indian Church is very simple. The General Synod has never thought it best for its missionaries to sever their connection with it. But as the missionaries felt it necessary to help the development of the Church from within they became assessors* in the Indian Presbyteries, having the power to vote, but not subject to them ecclesiastically. This relationship to the Indian Church has been continued throughout its varied history up to the present time.

3. The American Board.

Rufus Anderson, that most eminent American missionary statesman to whose long service as Sec-

*See note, page 79.

retary of the American Board attention has already been called, held that it is a "fundamental principle . . . that ecclesiastical bodies for native Churches and pastors should be exclusively for them; the missionaries sustaining to them only the relation of advisors." (13.1) This view is reiterated in his writings. (7.2) It finds full statement in his response to the Prudential Committee in 1856 at the request of the Committee of Thirteen on his recent "Deputation" to India. After disclaiming, as he always did, that the American Board attempted to exercise any ecclesiastical prerogatives whatsoever, he discussed the question:

"Is it expedient that such men should form ecclesiastical relations with the native churches and pastors? We think not. It seems to us that simplicity of arrangement is against it. The true and abiding elements in the ecclesiastical body are the native churches and the native ministry. Why, therefore, should the missionary element be introduced when there is no necessity for it? And congruity is against it. The missionary and the native pastors can never sustain precisely the same relations to their common work. There is a radical, insurmountable diversity.

"Separate action will be for the advantage of all parties. The independence of the native element will be more sure. If missionaries are in the ecclesiastical body, they will exert, almost of necessity, a predominating influence. The power of self-government will be best developed in this way. The native churches and ministers must have responsibilities to bear before they can learn how to bear them. By this plan there will be less danger of embarrassment and disorder when the missionaries leave for 'regions beyond.' . . .

"It may be said that the native body will need the wisdom and experience of the missionaries. But

all the assistance which is desirable, it would seem, may be obtained in the form of counsel. The advisory influence which may be exerted according to some natural arrangement, and the regulating power which necessarily grows out of the disbursement of money, will probably suffice for the happiest development of the churches that may be formed in any part of the world." (12.2)

Under such strongly held convictions we find this policy was adopted by Presbyterians who were still working under the American Board, although their fellow Presbyterians under the Presbyterian Board were adopting the opposite policy. In 1856, when the Ahmednagar Mission of the American Board was wholly composed of Presbyterians, a plan was drawn up in which it was proposed that the Indian churches should manage their own affairs. After outlining a semi-Presbyterian system, it provided that "Missionaries shall form no part of the Presbytery; but the Mission may appoint some one or more of its members to attend the meetings of the Presbytery, to give advice in matters of difficulty; but no one shall be allowed to vote on any question of business except the regular members of the Presbytery." The growth in independence of the Indian Church was further safeguarded: "When a pastor can not be obtained, the missionary in charge of the field in which the church is situated shall act as pastor of the church. . . . At the meetings of the church the missionary acting as pastor shall have no vote, though he may express his opinions when he thinks best." (12.3)

The policy laid down so strongly by Anderson before ecclesiastical associations other than the local church had been formed has been the general practice ever since. Missionaries may be honorary members of a local church, but very few transfer their actual membership to India. (120.1)

As we shall see in Chapter III, the *ab extra* principle as applied to relationship to the local churches has not been so consistently applied to the relationship of missionaries to the Associations and Unions which were formed amongst the churches.

4. The Baptist Foreign Mission Society.

According to Baptist polity, as we noted in the previous chapter, the ecclesiastical relations of every member are limited to the church to which he belongs; there are no ecclesiastical bodies higher than the local church. The question, therefore, of the ecclesiastical relationship of missionaries on the foreign field reduces itself in their case to whether or not they shall transfer their church membership to the church abroad.

Their practice in this regard is formulated in the "Manual" for the use of missionaries:

> "It is generally advisable for the missionary to retain his membership in the home land. His relation to the native church is fundamentally different from that of the native Christians, and should be kept distinct. Moreover, by retaining his membership in this country he will have a tie which will be of mutual benefit, both to the church and to himself." (22.1)

In this paragraph two reasons are given for the separate relationship—the maintenance of the dis-

tinction between the missionary and the Church and the strengthening of missionary interest in America. In India this policy is pursued in order, also, to further the aim of putting the government in the hands of the Indian Christians who are members of the local church. (120.2) Furthermore, the retention of church membership at home enables them to maintain the same relationship to all the churches in their region, giving to no single church pre-eminence by having a missionary attached to it. (44) Presbyterians escape this difficulty, since their ecclesiastical relationship is to a Presbytery or Classis instead of to the local church.

In the few cases where Baptist missionaries are members of a church in India it is usually an English congregation such as that at Rangoon. (43)

Since the Baptist Associations and Conventions formed in India amongst the churches are not really ecclesiastical bodies the relationship of the missionary to them is not considered in this chapter.

5. The Methodist Episcopal Church.

Reasons Why the Problem does not Arise for Methodists. For two reasons the question of this chapter does not arise for missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church working in India. In the first place there is but one system in India to which they may belong, viz., the Methodist Episcopal Church. This body combines in itself both ecclesiastical functions and all functions of missionary administration. In other words they have no "Missions"* as do the Congregationalists, the Pres-

* See note, page 15.

byterians, and the Dutch Reformed, wherein the functions of missionary administration are centered distinct from ecclesiastical bodies. Missionaries of the Churches just named are members of these "Missions," and may or may not transfer their ecclesiastical relations to bodies in India. But this choice is not open to the Methodist missionary.

In the second place the question does not arise since there is no independent Methodist Church in India as the outgrowth of the Methodist work. The missionaries are simply part of the Church machinery which has been extended with the advance of missionary work. But if there should develop an independent Methodist Church *in India,* then the question would have to be faced: Shall the missionary identify himself with the Church of the land in which he serves or of the land from which he comes?

Precedent in Japan. There has been no general legislation on this question, but light will be thrown on what might be done in India by what has been done when the independent Methodist Church of Japan was established. That the question was considered one of some moment is shown by the report of the Commission entrusted with the formation of this independent Church. It says:

"One of the most important questions to be determined by the Commission was the relation of the missionaries of the several Churches to the United Church: Should their membership remain with the Churches at home or would they better unite with the Japanese Church? It will be readily seen that no other issue involved could be of more concern to the missionary than this. There was a difference of

opinion between the missionaries themselves. The Commissioners were bound to consider first the welfare of the new Church, in which harmonious co-operation would be a vital element. At the same time they could not be indifferent to the judgment and preferences of experienced missionaries." (95.10)

After careful consideration the Commission drew up a basis of union which embodied such rights as the nature and efficiency of their work seemed to demand, proposing that all

"missionaries shall hold their Conference relation in their home Conferences and shall be supported wholly by their respective Boards of Missions until recalled. In recognition of this aid [certain appropriations] from the American Churches, and of his services to the Church in Japan every such missionary shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges of membership in the Annual Conference to which his work for the preceding year has been related, except on questions in which the character of Conference relation of Japanese preachers is involved." (95.20)

However, as soon as the new "General Conference of the Methodist Church of Japan" was organized they took up the consideration of this problem. To the surprise of all familiar with precedents in other Japanese Churches, they used that new power in offering more than had been stipulated by the Commission. They resolved that every missionary regularly appointed to work in co-operation with the Methodist Church of Japan should by virtue of such appointment be entitled to all the rights and privileges of actual membership in the Annual Conference where his service is being

rendered, so long as his administration and conduct conform to their discipline. (95.3)

The matter was left for final decision to the General Conference in the United States. It was decided that the missionaries should retain relationship to their Church in America except under certain conditions wherein, by a rather cumbrous system of transfers, missionaries might hold office and exercise other ecclesiastical rights in the Japanese Church. That missionaries should be working beside independent Conferences was a new situation. The General Conference met it by authorizing the Board of Foreign Missions to recognize the existence of what they called a "Mission Council in the East and West Conference of the Japanese Methodist Church," which Councils were to be auxiliary to the Board of Foreign Missions and subject to such regulations as they might approve. (95.4)

Deduction for America. Now the main reason for the Commission's proposal in Japan was the fact that the Japanese Church was still financially dependent. (95.2) Such conditions hold still more fully in India. So that taking the decision in Japan as a precedent, one may judge that on the formation of a Methodist Church in India, missionaries would retain their connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, and would seek to be assessors in the newly formed Church in India.

6. Summary.

We find, therefore, amongst the five Boards considered four types of solution of the problem of the ecclesiastical relationship of foreign missionaries. The Baptists and Congregationalists retain membership in their home churches. The Dutch Reformed retain full connection with their home Classis, but become assessors abroad. The Presbyterians as a rule have severed their tie to their home Church and have become full members of the Indian Church. The Methodists include Indians and the functions of a "Mission" in an extension of the home Church system. The next chapter will show these solutions in their practical working.

III

HOW IDEAL AND METHOD IN REGARD TO ECCLESIASTICAL INDEPENDENCE HAVE BEEN REALIZED IN PRACTICE.

In Chapter I we inquired whether or not the parent Churches held as an ideal the ecclesiastical independence of Churches on the mission field. In Chapter II we endeavored to see whether their policies have been to work for the full establishment of the Indian Church from within or from without. In this chapter we purpose to show the steps taken in actual practice to develop this independence; and the extent to which success has been attained.

1. The American Board.

Principles Enunciated by Dr. Anderson and the American Board. While there never was a greater champion of the ideal of "self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating" Churches than Dr. Rufus Anderson, there was no hesitation on his part in claiming apostolic authority for the missionaries in the early stages of Church formation. But in making these claims for the ecclesiastical authority of the missionary there was the constant looking forward to the time when the growing Church could

take over all responsibility. In 1845 the Board affirmed that

"missionaries acting under the commission of Christ, and with the instructions of the New Testament before them, are themselves at first, and subsequently in connection with the churches they have gathered, the rightful and exclusive judges of what constitutes adequate evidence of piety and fitness for church-fellowship in professed converts." (1.4)

Again in 1848 the subject of the ecclesiastical relationship of missionaries to the native Churches became the subject of an elaborate report by the Prudential Committee of the Board. They held that the missionary must exercise large powers at the beginning.

"Considering the weakness and waywardness so generally found in men just emerging from heathenism, native pastors must for a time and in certain respects be practically subordinate to the missionaries, by whom their churches were formed and through whom, it may be, they are themselves partially supported. This is true also of the mission churches; as will be explained in another part of this report. Should a practical parity, in all respects, be insisted on between the missionaries and the native pastors, in the early periods when everything is in a forming state, it is not seen how the native ministry can be trained to system and order, and enabled to stand alone, or even to stand at all. . . . And hence missionaries, who entertain the idea that ordination must have the effect to place the native pastors at once on a perfect equality with themselves, are often backward in intrusting the responsibilities of the pastoral office to natives. . . . It must be obvious that the view just taken of this subject involves no danger to the future parity of the native ministry, considered in their rela-

tions to each other; for, in the nature of things, the missionary office is scarcely more successive and communicable to the native pastors than was the apostolical office of evangelists." (1.5)

This view was re-affirmed on the occasion of the Deputation to India in 1854-5. Dr. Anderson in this Deputation also held that the duties and relations of the missionary implied the power of discipline. "Native pastors themselves are for a season but 'babes in Christ,' children in experience, knowledge, and character, and they cannot be on a perfect equality with missionaries any more than the child with the parent." (7.3) The Mission, in his opinion, should exercise the power of interfering authoritatively in case of unsoundness in the Indian churches or pastors. "It can, if necessity requires, separate the sound part of a church from a corrupt part and depose from the pastoral office." (7.4)

The ecclesiastical pronouncements, however, made by the Deputation in India awakened considerable discussion amongst those interested in the American Board, so in their reply to the Committee of Thirteen appointed to investigate the work of the Deputation, the Prudential Committee made this fundamental statement.

"In no case should there be any ecclesiastical control exercised by missionaries over the native churches and ministers, save that which may grow out of the action of bodies composed of both elements. A wise disbursement of funds will provide all the checks which are necessary or proper." (1.6)

Missionary Ecclesiastical Organizations: Ma-

dura Mission. For exercise of these apostolic powers the missionaries of the American Board early felt the necessity of some sort of an ecclesiastical association amongst themselves. Several such bodies were formed, but the interesting thing is that these original ecclesiastical bodies composed of missionaries "decreased" while in due time newly formed Indian Associations or Unions "increased." In tracing this history we shall see how the independent principles of the American Board gave to missionaries the utmost freedom in developing ecclesiastical organizations to suit the need of the situation as they saw it. What we have seen Amoy was permitted to do only after a seven-year struggle, and what representatives of the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Societies never attempted in India at all, seemed a matter of course under the American Board.

Thus in the second year of the Madura Mission (1836) a Presbytery,* independent of any parent Church, was formed out of the nine missionaries. Four years later (1840) we find their associated Missions of Madura, Madras and Jaffna organizing with the utmost flexibility to meet the needs in India as they saw them. The resulting ecclesiastical organization was called a "Presbytery," but they recognized that "the present circumstances of the Church connected with the associated Missions are such that full comformity is not in all respects practicable." (17.1)

In the Madura Mission in 1847 this gave way

*In the early days of the American Board many of its missionaries were Presbyterians.

to the "Ecclesiastical Association," in which all missionaries were considered *de facto* members, with the provision that "membership in this body shall not of itself be considered by the body as annulling or changing any relations previously sustained to other ecclesiastical bodies." In one of the distinct purposes of this Association we see again their minds intent on the discovery of a system of Church organization suited to the needs of their field rather than a mere copying of what had been known in the West. Thus:

"This body shall aim, as it may be practicable, to prepare and recommend to the mission churches a system of Church and ecclesiastical polity best adapted to promote their purity and increase." (3.10)

Until such a plan of Church polity shall have been formed and adopted by the mission Churches, the Constitution declared that

"every ordained member of the association has the right in his own field of labour to organize churches, judge of the qualifications necessary for church-membership, receive members and attend to the duties of a pastor toward his flock.

"It is considered expedient and proper for a brother in any case which appears to him doubtful to refer to this body for advice.

"This body may adopt standing rules for granting license to preach the Gospel, ordaining to the Ministry or for doing any ecclesiastical business. Till rules are adopted, this body may act in each case coming before it according to its views of propriety." (3.10)

This Ecclesiastical Association organized nine Churches, licensed two men as preachers, and ordained three as pastors; but after 1857 it did no

ecclesiastical work, although it did not wholly disappear until some years later. (17.3)

Dr. Anderson was strongly of the opinion that a separate ecclesiastical organization was not needed, since all ecclesiastical functions could be performed by the Mission as such. It was under his influence that the Association in Madura became inactive in 1857.

In The Ceylon Mission. Similarly, beginning with 1831, the Ceylon Mission of the American Board had a "Consociation" or "Presbytery" "for mutual aid in regulating the concerns of the different churches." It was composed of identically the same persons as in the Mission but with a different President and Clerk, (12.4) i. e., with no Ceylonese members. After a life of over twenty years and while the Deputation of 1854-5 was in Ceylon the Mission resolved "that hereafter the business which was formerly transacted by the ecclesiastical body be transacted by the Mission." (7.5)

Hesitation in Ordaining Pastors. As far as the three Missions of the American Board in India and Ceylon are concerned the Deputation of 1854-5 may be considered a distinct turning point. Up to that time the larger ecclesiastical functions were wholly in the hands of the Mission. In the three Missions of the American Board very few churches had been organized, and no men had been ordained. In fact, in the oldest Mission—that to the Marathis of Western India—there were by 1854 only four churches with no Indian office bearers, and hence missionaries were invariably pastors. And in the

Madura Mission there were only five churches, with no Indian office bearers except in a single church. (12.5)

For us now it is almost impossible to realize how hesitant missionaries were to ordain men in the early days of missions. It is still hard for us after a century of proof to have confidence that God can work in and through weak, very weak vessels. But it was an untried experiment in the first quarter of the last century. Can we imagine the situation that faced those early workers whose only conception of ordained men had been obtained from the learned and honored ministry of America? Before them were immature converts retaining many of the habits acquired in heathenism and idolatry; in many cases ignorant and understanding the Gospel in a most imperfect way; and worst of all, in the light of the emphasis of those days, very lacking in "conviction of sin." Dare they ordain from amongst *such* men? And yet one of the first things to realize in any thought of devolution is that natives must be ordained. This may seem self-evident now; it was not so evident to the missionaries of the American Board—and others—before 1850. The thought does not seem to have been very explicit that there were ever to be Indian churches under the direction of Indian pastors.

In the Marathi Mission. One of the leading objects of the Deputation from the American Board to India in 1854-5 was to persuade the missionaries in that country to commence the practice of ordaining Indian pastors. (7.1) The difficulty was

not only lack of faith and hope in the missionaries but also lack of self-confidence in the converts. Dr. Anderson thus comments on the Marathi situation in 1854:

"They might speedily have been ordained as pastors of native churches, but the importance of having independent churches formed in different localities, and of placing a pastor over each church was not then fully understood. The missionary acted as the pastor of the church, and perhaps felt that the duties of instructing the church-members in the knowledge of Gospel truth, and of disciplining and managing the church were beyond the ability of the native preachers. Instead of bringing them forward to perform the duties of pastors, and throwing responsibility upon them, he performed these duties himself and left them in the background. The native preachers themselves shrunk from the responsibilities of the pastoral office, and were at length induced with evident reluctance to come forward and receive ordination. They felt that they were unfit for such an arduous work as that of building the living temple of God. It is our opinion now that the system thus pursued was not a good one, as it was calculated to keep the native churches too long in a state of dependence." (7.9)

From every angle Dr. Anderson urged upon the missionaries a procedure that would lead to the formation of independent churches with Indian pastors as soon as possible. Thus in stating the relations of the missionary to the churches which had been gathered, he says:

"He has the oversight of those churches which have no native pastor and he is the adviser of those native pastors who are placed over churches. His aim is to bring forward the churches under his care to be independent self-sustaining churches as soon as pos-

sible; consequently he will continue to perform the duties of pastor of any church no longer than is necessary. When acting as the adviser of native pastors he will be careful to throw as much responsibility upon them as he finds they are capable of sustaining without injury to the cause. It would be far better that a native pastor should be left to make some mistakes in the management of his church than that the missionary should relieve him of too much of the responsibility." (7.7)

In the Madura Mission. In the Madura Mission also no Indian had been ordained previous to the Deputation. We can see how cautiously they were approaching this new step even so late as 1853:

"We believe that it is safe, under God, to rely on some of them more than we have, that properly superintended and advised, they are the laborers we need, and that in God's Providence the time has come when it is incumbent on us to put more responsibility on them. The bearing of that responsibility, if it is not too great for them, will do them good. . . . How fast it will be safe to proceed in the work of constituting our helpers as native pastors we do not say, but God is increasing our light on the subject." (5.6)

Under Dr. Anderson's influence the first pastor was ordained, but not to independent charge of his church; for in the ordination he was informed "that while continuing to receive a part of his support from the Board, he would be expected to make stated reports to the Mission." (14.3)

In the Ceylon Mission. The American Ceylon Mission, as we have said, ordained its first pastor while the Deputation was with them. (14.4) Twenty years later out of twenty fully organized

churches six were still in charge of unordained men, but they were able to make this witness:

"The wisdom of committing the churches organized to the care of native pastors, as fast as suitable men for the office can be obtained, is more and more manifest each year. The successful working of the plan has greatly exceeded our expectations, and in continuing it we have every reason to hope for steady progress in the efficiency and usefulness of both pastors and churches." (1.8)

That the Ceylon Mission has not yet been able to solve this problem, and that an outsider does not wholly understand why it should not be solved, is seen from the report of the Committee on Life Work and Statistics of the South India United Church, with which the churches of this Mission are now connected: "In Jaffna unordained men are placed over nine pastorates. Why these men are not ordained we do not know. It is not because the churches are unable to support the pastor, for some laymen are marked as presiding over churches wholly supported by Indian funds." (128.4)

The same report said that the Madura Councils had a fully developed pastorate in 1911. In reviewing this history of long delay in the ordination of Indian pastors one must not get the impression that the difficulty lay wholly in the inertia of the missionary. As we saw above, the Indians themselves were distrustful of their own powers; in many cases they were reluctant to have any other than a missionary as a pastor; and in still other cases the people did not see why they should pay for a pastor when a catechist was cheaper. But

by 1875 the native pastorate had become fully recognized by the American Board as essential, even if the realization in practice was still delayed. (15.1)

Indigenous Ecclesiastical Organizations Established: Marathi Mission. After the Deputation the first plan suggested by which the Indian churches might manage their own ecclesiastical affairs proceeded from the Ahmadnagar Mission, before the various Missions in the Bombay Presidency were united into one Marathi Mission. In June, 1856, a distinct advance was proposed. Churches were to have officers and the missionary was to be pastor only when an Indian pastor could not be obtained; and at the church business meetings the missionary acting as pastor was to have no vote, although he might express his opinion when he wished. The pastors (if they approved of the plan) were to be organized into an ecclesiastical body called a "Presbytery," of which the missionaries were to form no part, although the Mission might appoint some one or more of its members to attend the meetings of the Presbytery and to give advice in matters of difficulty; but no one was to be allowed to vote on any question of business except the regular members of the Presbytery. The organization was not wholly according to the Presbyterian model, since the lay delegates were not ruling elders; nor according to the Congregationalist system, since very large powers were given to the Presbytery. This plan was never actually put in force, but it shows the principles upon which the Mission was desirous of acting. (12.3) Secre-

tary Anderson was not eager for the more complicated ecclesiastical machinery to be introduced. He had cautioned them at the time of the Deputation against premature elaborate organization:

"It is vain to attempt the direct propagation of either of the religious sects of Christendom, as such, in pagan lands. The native Christian community in its infant state is not prepared for artificial, complicated organization; nor can it be placed in them without prolonging the period of its pupilage, and even imperiling its becoming a self-governing, self-sustaining Church. The missionary, at first, must carry these Churches, like a nurse, in his arms; and then he must cautiously train them to stand and walk alone. The simplest of all organizations, such as we find only in the inspired Word, are the ones for him and for them, and missionaries and their patrons should not be impatient to determine what the more complicated forms will be, that shall result from the progress of their Christian life." (7.8)

The General Union. We have, then, a Mission continuing for over half a century to be the only ecclesiastical body in its field. It was the Mission that examined and licensed preachers. After forty years the first pastors were ordained. However, by 1864 the churches had increased to twenty-three and the need was really felt for an indigenous ecclesiastical organization. The missionaries, therefore, and the pastors in connection with the Mission met and drew up a constitution for an *Aikya* or Union. This Constitution was finally adopted in 1865 at a meeting where three pastors and delegates from nine churches were present, as well as eight missionaries who sat only as corresponding members. An Indian was in the Chair. (4.5)

It was a crucial moment for this portion of the Indian Church. Here was a group of missionaries, who for years had laboured and prayed that there might be a really independent Church; at last, just a little over fifty years since the Mission was started, they were urging the adolescent churches to stand out and assume responsibilities of their own.

It was the missionaries who proposed to assist *ab extra*; it was the inexperienced Indian churchmen who urged that the missionaries should be members of the new Union. They said that missionaries should be in the *Aikya* because they were the acting pastors of most of the churches; and held that the mother teaches her child to walk by leading him, and not merely by telling him how. The missionaries, however, argued that though in such delicate matters as the guidance of the churches the teaching of the missionary is a necessity, yet they had been carried and led for many years, and it was time at last for them to stand on their own feet and learn to walk alone. Furthermore, the missionaries explained that so long as they remained responsible the people would not give their minds thoroughly to the work, and would not gain independent power to overcome difficulties. (4.2) This fundamental educational question was finally settled without a dissenting vote, leaving the Indians responsible. The organization had to do, in general, with whatever pertained to the common interests of the churches connected with the Union; expressing its opinion in regard to general principles whether of doctrine or morals; licensing and ordaining men, etc.

After reading the record written by the Indian Clerk of the protracted discussions with which the seven articles of this first Constitution were finally passed, it cannot but be with emotion that one reads the closing paragraph:

> It was then resolved that, whereas the union of our churches would not have been formed but for the exertions of the Mission, this assembly presents its best thanks to the Mission for inaugurating this excellent arrangement, in accordance with the practice of Christian lands, though new to us, and for their personal attendance at our meetings, and for their giving advice as well as information concerning the modes of procedure in the Churches and deliberative assemblies of America, and that the Clerk forward this resolution by letter to the Mission.
>
> Then with thanksgiving to God and prayer, the assembly adjourned.
>
> (Signed)
>
> SHAHOO. DAJEE, *Clerk.* (4.3)

Local Unions. During the past fifteen years local *Aikyas* have been developed. Many of the powers and duties of the General *Aikya* have devolved upon these local bodies, which have come to occupy the position of County Conferences or Associations in America, being responsible for ordinations and ministerial standing, and being the bodies directly to manage the support of the weaker churches. (16.5)

Continued Guidance by the Mission. There was still much need for guidance and, as we shall see in Chapter VI, the Church was far from independent in any full sense. In so far as they remained financially dependent on the Mission, it

was possible for coercion to be exercised; but it was a great step in advance that, while the Mission might make suggestions, the final responsibility for decision had been placed upon them alone.

We will give a few concrete examples taken from the Mission Minutes showing how the Mission henceforth tried to work through the General *Aikya* or Union, viz.:

"*Resolved,* That we urge all churches not now in the General *Aikya* to join at once." (2.3)

"*Resolved,* That without the permission of the Standing Committee of the General *Aikya* no new churches shall be established or new pastors be ordained. It is understood that this rule applies to churches independent of the Mission, but which are in the General *Aikya.*" (2.4)

"*Resolved,* That through the General *Aikya* now assembled, we recommend to all the churches connected with the mission the thoughtful consideration of the individual communion cups—simply for sanitary reasons." (2.5)

Or they might take up with a representative body from the *Aikya* and the Indian Christian community the consideration of the expediency of ordaining evangelists who should administer the ordinances of Christianity to such feeble churches as are not able to call pastors. (2.6) As a final example of the methods of the Mission we may note that in 1895 they adopted a Hand-book of Church Procedure. The Mission Committee had an interview with the Union of Native Churches at which they explained the steps that had been taken in the preparation of the Hand-book and the object that the Mission had in view in its prepa-

ration so as to prevent any possible misapprehensions that might arise with reference to it. Furthermore, the following resolution was printed as a preface to the New Hand-book:

"That we express our approval of the Manual of Church Procedure as prepared by our Committee, and we hereby strongly urge the churches in our connection to adopt it as their rule for guidance both in their internal affairs and in their relations to the other churches, in the interest of good order, harmony and spiritual growth." (2.2)

And yet, with this evident desire to give the Indian his rightful place, there was still rather a careful oversight on the part of the missionary. Almost every church was virtually in the charge of some missionary. (4.4) It is somewhat of a surprise to find that the 1904 edition of the Regulations of the American Marathi Mission carried over two rules found in the 1876 edition, namely:

"Each member of the Mission shall keep a record of the additions to the churches in his district, by letter or profession, the dismissions, excommunications, deaths, baptisms, marriages, and other changes.

"The missionary in charge of a district shall have the supervision of the native pastors in that district, and of such churches in his district as are without a native pastor. If there be more than one missionary stationed in a district, the Mission shall decide in regard to the superintendence of the church or churches in that district." (8.1)

Even the ideal, however, as held by the parent Church has not gripped the imagination of the masses. Some of the educated leaders in the Indian Church call for greater responsibilities, but

the masses are not beyond surprise at the ideal held out before them. For example, in the Marathi Mission at the centenary celebration in 1913, after reviewing the century of sacrifice and service of American missionaries to India, a most earnest appeal was made to the Indians to consider more seriously the question of the aggressive independence of the Indian Church; and they were assured that Christians in India can hardly imagine the satisfaction this would bring to the Christians of America who have, for a century, given with the expectation and the prayer that speedily the Church of Christ in India would become an independent, self-supporting, and self-extending Church. This official letter produced a profound impression on the Indian Christians. (16.2)

Indigenous Ecclesiastical Bodies: Madura Mission. Let us go back now to the period of the Deputation and trace indigenous ecclesiastical developments in the Madura Mission. In one district especially, the effect of Dr. Anderson's emphasis on church organization led to very definite action. Rev. H. S. Taylor, in charge of the Mandahasalie district, organized five churches immediately following the Deputation. On learning of the clear-cut statement of the Prudential Committee referred to above, viz., that "in no case should there be any ecclesiastical control exercised by missionaries over the native churches and ministers. . . ." (1.6), he proceeded in 1857 to organize his little group of churches into an ecclesiastical body called a *Sangam*. This Society was composed of the Indian pastors and delegates from the churches in his district,

with himself, as missionary, enrolled simply as adviser. Churches had to hold a common confession of faith in order to come into this *Sangam*. Its object was the good of the churches, which might seek its advice, or advice might be given unasked if it was thought proper. This Society was given the power to organize new churches and to ordain pastors.

The Mission, however, took action disapproving the formation of this independent ecclesiastical body. For one thing the Mission held that such an independent body should not, without the consent of the Mission, ordain men over churches with the implied pledge that the Mission would assist in the support of such pastors.

Realizing that some positive action was necessary the Mission in 1858 adopted a set of rules for their guidance with reference to the establishment of ecclesiastical bodies. They decided that such a body might be formed "where there are three or more ordained native pastors, and as many churches, wishing to be united in such a body;" that "missionaries shall be advisory members of the body;" that as a Mission they would not support pastors who were not ordained according to these rules. Their object in this set of rules was well given in the following resolution adopted by the Mission:

"The Mission has no disposition to state, or to limit the abstract powers of a native pastor, or church, or of any assembly of pastors and churches, or of a brother missionary; still, the Mission has for the promotion of peace and good order, among the native churches, and for the sake of harmony in its own body,

adopted certain rules with regard to ecclesiastical organization, which, or something equivalent to which in substance, it seems necessary to the proper formation and government of the Church and the ordaining of pastors." (3.2)

Since there were only two pastors in Mr. Taylor's district his *Sangam* became unlawful if he was to remain in harmony with his Mission. An appeal was made to the Prudential Committee, who affirmed the principle of entire non-interference on the part of the Board and its officers on the whole subject of ecclesiastical relations and organizations. At last Mr. Taylor yielded, largely on account of financial reasons. Three years later (1861), when there were enough pastors in his district, the *Sangam* was recognized and it continued for some twenty years until displaced by the more comprehensive body of which we are about to hear.

This *Sangam* affected just one district of the Madura Mission. Its significance lies in the revelation it affords of the way the Mission was feeling its way along through those formative years.

The Madura Church Union. It was not until 1869, thirty-four years after the foundation of the Mission, that they finally organized the churches into the "Madura Church Union," which at last took up the ecclesiastical function of the Mission under a Constitution framed by three missionaries and one Indian. (5.5) Three years later it was found best to erect under this Church Union three "Local Unions." (17.6) The Constitution, drawn up by three Indians and three missionaries, provided that

"the pastors and delegates of the churches of the Union, the missionaries of the American Madura Mission and other clergymen connected with the Union shall together transact the business of the Union." (10.1)

One of its four aims was "to raise up self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating churches." The duties of the local unions included the examining and licensing of candidates for the ministry, the ordination and installation of pastors over churches, and the organization of churches. (10)

Flexibility is seen in this organization also. For while the effort had been to have the churches managed according to the Congregational polity, it was soon seen that the looseness of this system was not suited to the actual conditions of the churches in the stage then reached. The Local Unions were formed with less power than that of a Presbytery in the Presbyterian polity; and yet greater power than that of a Congregational Council. Furthermore there was a greater element of permanence than in a "Council."

Relation of Missionaries to the Union. Although, as we have just seen, the Constitution provided for missionary membership in these Local Unions, it was stated in the South India Missionary Conference of 1879 that "the missionaries attend the meetings of these bodies and take part in the exercises and deliberations; but in order that the native pastor and delegates may have free course to develop they refrain from voting on questions before the ecclesiastical body." (118.1)

Later only those missionaries who had official

connection with the churches were members of these Unions. However, by a rule of the Mission, passed many years ago, the office of Treasurer has always been held by a missionary, since he is more experienced and has better conveniences for keeping and administering funds than any of the Indian members of the churches. The decision as to the use of funds in hand; the election of church and Union officers; the disciplining of erring members; the ordination, installation and dismissal of pastors, etc.—all these (with the exception that a pastor before ordination must be approved for the office by the Mission) are in the hands of the churches and Unions. It is evident, therefore, that the Mission stands in the relation of counsellor to the churches and Unions, rather than that of director. (5.4)

Glimpses of its Working. If one looks over the minutes of the meetings of the Mission one gets glimpses into that guidance and control, still felt to be necessary for the Indian Church. The following are examples taken from the past twenty-five years:

"that hereafter whenever one of our churches intends to extend a call to a man to become its pastor permission shall be first obtained from the Mission for that purpose." (3.3)

"*Resolved,* That it is inconsistent with Christian principles to indicate differences of caste in any church records or Mission registers; and the Mission expects that the use of caste titles for Christians in any such documents will be discontinued." (3.4)

"The Mission recommends that the churches restrict the right of voting to those above 16 years of age." (3.5)

"That in the uniting of any two churches within a

Local Union the counsel and aid of the Union should be sought." (3.6)

"That student church members shall transfer their membership to the churches of the places where they are studying." (3.7)

"In order to leave the Church Council free to act in this matter, we remove the prohibition of marrying one's niece, though we still consider such unions undesirable." (3.8)

In the Ceylon Mission. We have seen that the General *Aikya* was established in the territory of the Marathi Mission in 1864, and that the Church Union was established in the territory of the Madura Mission in 1868. The more complete establishment of an ecclesiastical body for the churches connected with the Jaffna Mission in Ceylon came still later. It was not until 1903 that they adopted a plan whereby the churches may act unitedly in all matters of common concern through the organization of a Council. This Council was given considerable authority, including the organization of churches, the ordination and discipline of pastors, preachers, and catechists; the settling of disputes between churches, and the disbursing all funds raised by the churches for general work There were some protests over the large functions given to this Council and to the office of Moderator, but the need of closer organization was recognized. (6.1) This Council of the Congregational Church of Ceylon took its place as an important institution for promoting the solidarity of the churches, increasing their activity, and enabling them to take a large share in affairs which up to that time had been purely in the hands of the Mission. (1.7)

The South India United Church. The General and Local *Aikyas* still form the ecclesiastical organizations in the territory in which the Marathi Mission works. But still further advance than that thus far outlined has been made by the churches springing from the Madura and Ceylon Missions. The training received by the members of the Madura and Ceylon (Jaffna) Unions in meeting their own local problems was gradually preparing them for a larger horizon and union.

In 1908 was formed the South India United Church—a really great achievement in corporate union, being the first in India between churches of different polity. In it were united churches heretofore connected with the American Board (Madura and Jaffna Missions), the London Missionary Society (Madras and Travancore); the Reformed Church in America (the Arcot Mission) and the United Free Church of Scotland. For purposes of missionary administration South India is still divided into "Missions," but in this Church is an indigenous organization unconnected with any foreign Church, which can go on after Missions have ceased to be. At the present stage it has taken over charge of little more than its ecclesiastical affairs. General administration—the direction of evangelists and catechists, the maintenance and conduct of schools and hospitals—is still for the most part in the hands of the Missions, although we shall see in Chapter VI how methods of devolution in these functions also are being adopted by the Missions. In polity it is unlike any of the mother Churches. While its Constitution, providing for

three courts (congregation, Council and General Assembly), looks Presbyterian, yet since each Council possesses only such power as is delegated to it by the churches, it is to that extent Congregational. It has aimed to balance powers between over-centralization on the one hand and unrestricted individualism on the other.

Heretofore the Indian Christians had been accustomed to associate themselves in thought with a Mission organization, but now there is a suggestion in the very organization that they are free to work out their own destiny. Comparing statistics and reports from the different sections of the Church there is evidence that they are themselves exhibiting emulation, profiting by other Indian models and acquiring *esprit de corps.* (128.1)

This means of necessity a changed attitude on the part of the missionary. One thus expresses it:

"To-day we stand as the stewards of the South India United Church, whereas yesterday we stood as the representatives of a western Church. It is difficult to realize the change which this necessitates, not in our treatment of our Mission agents, but in our thought concerning them. They to-day accompany the missionary as delegates to the Assembly, whereas before they were the children of the missionary, relying upon him for decision and direction. This is just one illustration of the change that has come over the missionary situation in the last few years." (113.7)

The Relation of Missionaries to the S. I. U. C. The part of missionaries in establishing this Church is well expressed in the "History of the Union" given at its first Assembly in 1908. It reads:

"It may be noted in passing that without the interest in the movement on the part of missionaries on the one hand, and the pastors and members of the Indian Church on the other, nothing of any value could have been accomplished. It was natural that a considerable share in the task of bringing about the union should fall to missionaries. The opportunities they had of fellowship and conference, and their knowledge of movements in other lands, made it natural that they should take the lead. But they could have done nothing had there not been in the Church itself a strong feeling that the course proposed was the right one, and on the part of some of these there was not only acquiescence but hearty co-operation. It must be remembered, too, that if missionaries have taken a prominent part in the effort, they have done so with no selfish motive. In the new Church they will have far less authority than many of them had under the old system. What they have done has been for the advancement of the Church to a condition of independence, in which it will increase." (128.2)

As to the relationship of the missionary to the local church the Constitution says: "So long as a church has official connection with a Mission the Mission has the right to appoint a representative on the Session or Church Committee." (128.3) So that the pastor of a self-supporting church is not under a missionary, but has independent charge of his church under the Council. Since "a Church Council is composed of all the ministers and lay representatives of the churches," ordained missionaries are *ex officio* members with voting power. But in the two Councils covering the Madura Missions the missionaries form a very small minority and in practice often do not attend. In the General Assembly representation of missionaries is left to

the result of the General election. Although theoretically no distinction is made between missionaries and Indians it is clearly understood that the former are to constitute a fair proportion of the delegates. (87)

Of the four Moderators of the General Assembly two have been Indian. The Conveners of most of the Committees are still missionaries, but the majority on practically all committees are Indians. Missionaries at present compose about one-fourth of the Assembly, but this ratio will naturally decrease.

2. The American Baptist Mission Society.

We have seen that in the aim of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, at first implicitly and later explicitly, there was the ideal of the independent, organized church, along with the policy of working for this *ab extra*.

Running the eye quickly over the century since this Society began its work we seen several outstanding facts with reference to the devolution of ecclesiastical powers to the Indian Church.

Hesitation Over Ordaining Men. Here again, as in the study of the work of the American Board, the first thing that strikes our attention is the reluctance in ordaining men. In fact, the first Burman pastor was ordained practically as the result of an irregularity over which the missionaries had no control, and this ordination in 1829 does not seem to have been taken as a precedent. For it was not until the Burman Mission was almost thirty

years old that Mr. Abbott in 1843 felt compelled to ordain two men. This was done, however, with opposition on the field, and by no means with hearty support from America. But the daring experiment succeeded and other ordinations followed. The point we need to note is that there was a definite shrinking from taking this step in devolution. (34.1)

Just a year before the Deputation of the American Board to its Missions in India, the Baptists sent a Deputation to Burma. One of the labours of this Deputation also was to arrange for "the ordination of a larger number of native pastors." (36.1) Their report, adopted at a special Missionary Convention in Maulmain in 1853, contains both a warning against delay in ordination and a judgment that abundant material was available if eyes were open to see it.

"We have reached a period in the history of our missions when this subject demands the most profound and prayerful attention. . . . A long continued supervision your committee believe would be attended with many serious evil results. It would engender feebleness in the native churches and incapacitate them for that state of independence and self-sustentation designed for the great Head of the Church. It would accustom the native converts to a style of ministry which can in vain be looked for from a native pastorate when circumstances shall compel its employment.

"In addition there are more than 120 native preachers connected with these churches, many of whom until recently have been inaccessible to the missionary in Burma. These men (or most of them) have been raised up by God Himself and endowed with gifts and qualifications for the ministry of the Word. They

have sat side by side with your missionaries in the zayat, they have stood with them in the field of active service, they have been entrusted with the gospel, and have wended their weary way to the distant jungle and preached the crucified Saviour in the vales and on the mountain tops, relying alone upon Him who had called them; they have made the jungle vocal with the praises of God, so that the missionary following in *their* footsteps has found the wilderness budding and blossoming as the rose. These are tried men, they have met persecution and have not quailed, they have been reviled from day to day and have not fainted, they have been subjected to stripes and imprisonment, the naked sword has been suspended over them—but all in vain.

"Your committee would recommend the most serious attention of this convention and of every missionary to this subject, and that pastors be ordained for every church just so soon as suitable men qualified as the Scriptures demand for this important office are raised up." (46.2)

We may the better appreciate the problem presented in those early days by this matter of turning over pastoral powers, if we look at some of the arguments. The Deputation, for example, held that missionaries should be evangelistic only, and that the pastorate of the churches should be in Burman hands. It was objected that this separation of missionaries from the pastorate would promote prelatical distinctions and ecclesiastical domination on the part of missionaries. The Deputation held on the other hand that the real danger was from introducing distinctions into the Burman ministry:

"As it is now, the churches are tempted to make false distinctions between the ordained pastors who

visit them at long intervals, and their resident ministers; and to attach superstitious notions to the rites which the former only are permitted to administer."

The whole policy of the Deputation was to free the Burman preachers from all liability to domination by the missionaries. They even urged, with great insight for that day, that the management and support of employees of the American Baptist Missionary Union be transferred to the churches, so that they might be free from missionary administrative control also.

"Missionary superintendence will still be needed, but should not be claimed as a matter of right. It should be strictly advisory and fraternal. In only this way can the essential dangers of prelacy be avoided, the independence of the churches encouraged, and the largest measure of conscious responsibility placed upon the pastor and preacher." (46.3)

Difficulty in Founding Churches. The Telegu field offers a very interesting illustration of a second fact in the study of the ecclesiastical devolution amongst the Baptist Missions—the extreme difficulty of organizing converts into local churches. Such organization may seem very simple and natural, but in reality it has been one of the hardest and most persistent problems of this great Mission. We do not need to go back to 1853 to find it taxing the energies of both the home authorities and of the missionaries on the field. As late as 1902 the Executive Committee of the American Baptist Missionary Union wrote to their missionaries in the Telegu Mission that:

"They believe that this beyond any other is the problem of the Telegu Mission exceedingly important in itself and underlying other problems. Your reports show that there are few definitely constituted churches. Thus far the work has largely followed the Old Testament type." (24.2)

But what kind of churches should be organized? The Executive Committee outlined two plans of church organization: one contemplated the establishment of a church in each village; the other the establishing of central churches each representing a group of villages. The Executive Committee favoured the latter plan since the village plan would result in churches with too limited membership for adequate Christian fellowship and also would make pastoral support almost impossible. The extreme of this type is found in the Ongole Church which a few years ago was spoken of as "the largest church in the world," having on its rolls 20,000 names. But it was simply one organization for a whole district of 279 villages so that local responsibility and development was impossible.

Another question that demanded much thought and experiment was the determination of the minimum qualifications for constituting a church. The Telegu Mission Conference thought a church might be organized if there were not less than fifty members," (27.1) the Executive Committee at home considered the number suggested very small. (24.3) In other respects than numbers it was hard to set the minimum qualifications for the constitution of a church. The Telegu Mission Conference in 1902 adopted the following three con-

ditions: the reception, discipline and dismissal of members; the maintenance of a roll of membership and a record of proceedings; stated meetings and observances of ordinances. (27.1)

It is instructive to find thus as late as 1902 words from the Executive Committee in Boston to the Telegu Mission indicative of the difficulty of devolution at this fundamental point of church organization:

"The committee recognize that this work of church organization will be a work of time. Great wisdom will be needed by the missionary, and constant oversight of the churches in their selection of pastors and reception of members. The missionary will need to keep very closely in touch with pastor and church, and for a time his labors may be multiplied rather than relieved. But the committee, like yourselves, believe that the final result will be worth all its cost, and they believe that from this time plans should be definitely shaped with a view to the development of local church organization and the increasing realization of self-administration in these churches." (24.2)

Another proof of the real difficulty of this central problem is found in the action of the Executive Committee in 1905 authorizing the Telegu Mission to constitute "a commission for the study of the problem of church organization and Christian development." (21.1)

Here again, as in the study of this problem under the American Board, one must not imagine that all the difficulty lies with the missionary by any means. The Telegu Conference officially states in explanation of delay that congregations shrink from organization "lest this would involve the obligation to

support their preacher;" on the other hand some preachers do not encourage the formation of churches "because their income through the missionary was more sure and regular than they could expect from the churches." (27.2)

Still further insight into the obstacles from the Telegus themselves is found in one of the excellent reports of the Commission authorized by the Executive Committee in 1905. A survey had been made and the detailed results as given in 1907 have their significance in estimating difficulties in church organization. In part the report was as follows:

"As to the desire on the part of the Christians for churches, ten missionaries see none at all, five think there is a little. In Narsaravupett, Mr. Silliman does not see much desire, but finds that the people are very jealous of the traditions of the local church, objecting to changes of name or location. Markapur, Cumbum, and Kanigiri report a desire on the part of the Christians. In Nandyal great interest was shown in the organization of the Central Station Church. An unusual desire is seen in the Kurnool field. In Ongole the desire is said to be growing fast. In Kandakur a few are becoming active in the matter.

"As to the desire of the preachers for church organization, five missionaries report them as indifferent, twelve report them as favorable, and one reports them as opposed. One reports them as opposed when drawing mission pay, and one says they are opposed if they think there is any danger of self-support following organization. In Kandakur four out of eight want to organize churches and one is making an active effort to do so." (26.2)

Underlying this apathy on the part of the Telegus is the economic difficulty. "Insufficient rainfall for

the ten years preceding 1906," "emigration," "sickness," etc., are reasons given for lack of success in church organization. The writer of the report on the State of Mission in 1906 says,

"Truly the task of working constantly against such odds is Herculean and the home constituency should not be impatient if greater results in self-support, independence and church organization cannot be reported. It is a wonder that any progress can be reported at all under such conditions." (26.1)

Stage of Autonomy Reached. For a judgment as to the actual present results of the Baptist policy we have to turn to the report of the work of individual missionaries. For in the Baptist foreign work they have not had since 1859* organized "Missions" whose legislation may be considered; nor in accordance with their polity is the Church which results from their work formally organized into a national body like the General Assembly of the Presbyterians. Real ecclesiastical autonomy is found in the local church alone. Certain forms of administrative autonomy may be secured in the ends for which the Baptist Associations and Conventions stand. Although no authoritative legislation can in the nature of the case be considered, an examination of individual reports is, however, not without its significance. We will be impressed with the dependence of results not only upon general principles but upon the soil and the personal procedure of the missionary.

Amongst the Telegus. Since nine-tenths of the

*See pages 139-143.

total church membership arising from the work of the American Baptist Missionary Society in India are found amongst the Telegus and in Burma, we will confine our inquiry to these two of their four fields in India. The situation with regard to autonomy in the first of these fields is well surveyed in a symposium which in several issues during 1914 appeared in the *Baptist Missionary Review* on the subject: "Are we as missionaries doing all we can to promote the independence of the native Church?" The very raising of such a question points toward the problem which each Society finds difficult. Six outstanding and experienced missionaries wrote on this question.

Rev. D. Downie, D.D., says that it must be admitted that they have no local church that is self-governing and independent in the full Baptist sense. Lamenting this he says:

"But would it be unreasonable to expect that after three-quarters of a century of Mission work whose aim is to establish independent churches we might have at least one mature full-fledged Baptist church in this Mission? Have we such a church? I say No, not a single one! We have a few churches that are reported as self-supporting and which call and support their pastors, and attend to the ordinances and discipline of their members. But the best of them worship in Mission chapels and are guided and directed to a very considerable extent by their missionaries. There is not a single church in connection with this Mission that is free from Mission aid and more or less of Mission control." (47.3)

This condition he feels is distinctly due to lack of

faith on the part of the missionaries in God, in the people and in themselves.

Rev. Wheeler Boggess writes:

"It is acknowledged by all of our Baptist missionaries that each local church should be independent of all external human control in all matters of discipline and government. . . . If perchance a church should, against her better judgment, yield to outside influences for a consideration, she has mortgaged her independence and crippled her usefulness. . . . Yet, how many churches are content to remain thus enfeebled, and how many missionaries seem to desire to keep the churches thus mortgaged! Some missionaries even usurp the right of passing judgment on every act of the church, in matters of discipline as well as in matters of finance, because, forsooth, they give to the church some financial aid. So long as a church receives financial aid it may justly be subject to control in the expenditure of that aid; but to usurp the right of interference in other matters is surely overstepping the missionary's privilege." (47.4)

Rev. W. L. Ferguson, D.D., shows how little theory avails and how resolutely missionaries must set themselves to the shifting of responsibilities from themselves to Indians, if independence is to be secured by the Indian Church. Speaking of a time fifteen years ago, when the Telegu Baptist Convention formulated clear-cut principles with regard to church formation, self-support and complete self-government, he says:

"We are all fifteen years farther along than we were then in discussion and experience; but the thing which then was advocated is still largely undone. We as missionaries have not organized a very large number of churches; we have not placed full responsibility

for the conduct of their own affairs upon very many; we have not cut off any considerable number of pastors and thrown their support upon the people to whom they minister. We have gone on about as we did, doing our utmost for the people as a whole, evangelizing, educating, training. We spend and are being spent in the service, and we hope for the day when a new order will be inaugurated, when the people shall be trained and ready and anxious to assume their own burdens, responsibilities and support; but we have inaugurated no new policy for bringing this about. I believe that we are at fault here. We need more courage than we seem at present to possess. And the same is true of the Telegu brethren. They discuss the questions of independence and self-support in almost every annual meeting of the five Associations and of the Telugu Baptist Convention. The matter has been talked about till it is threadbare. There is no lack of enlightenment about the principles of independence and the desirability of obtaining it. The difficulty is to get the thing done. Achievement is what is needed both on the part of churches and individuals. For many years they have said that it would be a gain to be free from the Mission; but there seems to be little alacrity to cut loose from the Mission and from foreign support; on the contrary, I think I can discern rather a tendency to hold it fast and to ask for more. . . .

"Then, too, we might fulfil our long neglected duty of church organization—the establishment, setting apart, recognition, or whatever else one wishes to call it, of local churches. We have been too slow in this, too cautious, in many an instance. We should adopt a bolder plan and trust that God will honor our faith accordingly. . . .

"Make leaders and congregations responsible for deciding and doing a lot of things which the mission now decides and does. Do a little pressing in the way of development and even be a little ahead in our plans of what the people are ready for the moment

to take over. At baptisms, weddings, funerals, church meetings, reception of members, discipline of members, etc., why not stay completely in the background, unless something special calls for action." (47.5)

A somewhat different local report is given by Rev. W. A. Stanton, who for twenty years has worked in the Kurnool field. Of the main church he says:

"The church is entirely self-governing. It receives and disciplines its members. . . . The church has its deacons, its clerk and its treasurer and is as truly independent as any church I know of in America. The function of the missionary in relation to this church is purely inspirational. He does not attend the business meetings, he has nothing to do with its government. He has not interfered with any of its church affairs for the past ten years. He visits the church on tours and holds special services for the edification, reviving and quickening of the members, but has nothing to do with its internal affairs. . . .

"We have eight of these churches on our field—not all of them as prosperous and as advanced as the Atmakur church, but all of them working out their own salvation. They all have their pastors, their schools, their deacons, and all administer their affairs, sometimes, to be sure, in a pretty poor way. Sometimes they get into a rut and stick there for a good long time, but they are all on the road to a full and complete church life. The Mission is not carrying them. They are standing on their own legs, though sometimes, like the Indian ox we so often see, they lie down under the load. We help them to get up, but they must go on again, until they get strong under the load." (47.6)

Yet taking the Telegu field as a whole, he says:

"While most of the older fields at least have here and there a village church, the great mass of the Christians on the field are members of the 'Station' or 'Mission' Church, as it is called, many of them living thirty or forty miles away from the center, destitute of the ordinances save as the missionary visits them, and quite without that sense of responsibility which can come only from an organized church life. We know that this is not ideal. . . . We have too long robbed our Telegu Christians of their heritage." (47.7)

This general judgment is not contradicted by any of the six contributors to the Symposium. It is still further confirmed by a perusal of the annual reports on the "State of the Mission" by the Telegu Mission Conference, which since 1907 has made especially thorough surveys of their field by a committee on this subject. (24.1)

Amongst the Karens. If now we turn to the other great mission of the American Baptist Society in India we find a far different situation. If the Baptist policy was to be judged by the record of the Karen churches alone, it would seem indeed uniquely successful. Ever since Rev. C. H. Carpenter published in 1883 that influential book "Self Support in Bassein" (34) the Baptist Karen mission has stood out in all the world as noteworthy for self-support and self-government. Most of the Karen churches have never known what it is to be under control in their local affairs. They have been taught from the first to be autonomous. (47.2)

At the recent Continuation Committee Conference at Rangoon it was stated:

"On the Bassein field, with a membership of 14,000

and but one missionary to aid in the work, educationally and ecclesiastically; where every church has its own chosen pastor and supports him and is wholly responsible for its own discipline and where no foreign money has been used for well nigh a generation; where they have endowed their own High School to the extent of about a lac and a half, carrying on an industrial plant from a part of their endowment capital, being raised for that purpose, and sending out their own missionaries to foreign parts as well as assisting their own weak churches on the field; when the missionary has no official authority except that which his personal influence and character may afford, leaving him free to act with his brethren simply as a Christian brother and fellow worker, rather than an almoner of foreign funds, and therefore allowing a basis of delightful fellowship with them in the work, it would seem it will be but a step further to a complete transfer of the work and responsibility upon them." (122.17)

Of Moulmain, an advanced field, the statement is made:

"As to self-direction, these are facts on this mission field: every church calls its own pastor, renders him more or less help financially, and severs the connection when they think it best to do so, sometimes with the knowledge of the missionary, sometimes without. Every church exercises its own discipline, admitting, suspending, or excluding members entirely by its own vote. Every church collects its own contributions, and then decides by its own vote where each rupee shall go." (47.2)

The Tavoy field is said to be the poorest of the Karen fields and yet of this Rev. B. P. Cross writes:

"As to the government of the churches, I think it would be correct to call it autonomous, although

they look to the Association (of Baptist churches) for help and guidance in choosing a pastor, establishing a new church and other important matters."

In other words local autonomy is modified by the custom of asking advice and counsel from the association of sister churches, so that this report from the weakest of the Karen churches reveals a condition essentially the same as in America. (47.2) Rev. D. C. Gilmore, who at the special request of the American Baptist Mission in Burma has given special attention to the subject of the autonomy of the native church, writes what may be taken as authoritative:

"The missionaries as a rule try to teach the churches to rely on themselves in the conduct of their own affairs."

The Rev. L. W. Cronkhite, D.D., of Bassein, writes:

"On principle I have always kept myself almost absolutely out of the internal affairs of our Karen churches. I advise them when asked, occasionally, though rarely, when not asked, but never undertake any control whatever. It has seemed to me that while the churches may lose in many individual cases, and the road to success is long, it should be followed. A number of missionaries make it their custom not to attend the business meetings of the Karen churches in their stations, even though they know their presence would be welcome, because they wish the churches to realize their own powers and responsibilities in the conduct of their own affairs. . . .

"But would not the missionary intervene in case the church was falling into such laxity of discipline, for

instance, as was likely to bring discredit on the Christian name? He might, and probably would, intervene; but his intervention would not be by way of control. He would offer advice, and even expostulation; but any constraint put upon a local church would be the action of the Association; not the missionary. A Karen Baptist church is on the same footing as a Baptist church in America in this respect.

"So far then as the local churches, the individual congregations are concerned, the situation is accurately summed up by Mr. Bushell: 'The Karen Church understands that it is entirely independent of any man, or body of men, on earth, and responsible only to Christ; and it is impossible to confer more autonomy upon them than they enjoy. . . .

"What then is the relation of the missionary to the Karen churches? In the first place he is looked upon as their 'constitutional adviser.' . . . It is to the missionary (though not exclusively to him) that the pastors come for advice and encouragement, and the missionary feels at liberty to offer advice to the pastors when he thinks they need it." (47.2)

Such judgments find confirmation in manuscript replies to Commission No. II of the Edinburgh Convention in 1910. (120.4)

The Determinative Effects of Environment. We have taken the Telegu and the Karen Missions to illustrate strikingly the difference in results that may be obtained by the same Society sending out in general the same type of men to different areas. The remarkable success amongst the Karens is undoubtedly due to a combination of two distinct factors: missionaries who held with tenacity and persistence to an ideal of self-support and independence for the Karen Church; and secondly economic and social conditions that dif-

ferentiate them from almost all other peoples of India. If Abbott and Harris and Carpenter and Price had been up in the Telegu district, and if it be taken for granted that in this very different social and economic environment their theories of missions had been able to develop in their own minds, it is practically unquestionable that Karen results could not have been produced in the Telegu region. Here famines are frequent, land is hard to get, the people seldom have enough to eat, dependence characterizes every aspect of the people. On the other hand the Karens are prosperous, peasant proprietors, the monsoon never fails and famine is unknown.

But not only is there a marked difference between the results of the Telegu and Burman Missions, but within the Burman Mission itself the difference in results as to number of converts, self-support and independence between the Karen section and the section for the Burmans proper is almost proverbial. Still more striking is the fact that even within the Karen Mission economic causes markedly change results. For example, the great results are amongst the plains people. The hill Karens are poor, they have a hard struggle to live and self-support has made less progress amongst them than amongst the people of the plains. (47.2)

While no one would, perhaps, question the fact that economic and social factors tremendously affect the quality and quantity of results, there are many to assert that if the principles so splendidly carried out amongst the Karens had been patiently, persistently, educationally applied in less prosperous

regions, the present results in independence would be far greater.

3. The Presbyterian Church in U. S. A.

In Chapter I we saw that from an early date the Presbyterians have held the ideal of an independent Church in India. In Chapter II we saw that for the last eighty years they have been working *intra muros* for the establishment of such an independent Church. Let us attempt to see the practical working of the system.

Presbyteries Begun with Predominant Missionary Membership and Control. In the first place it is to be noted that the first Presbyteries were established within a very few years after the founding of the Panjab and North India Missions, and that the membership and control of such Presbyteries was of necessity almost wholly missionary. (58.1) In thus starting the Presbyteries wholly or overwhelmingly foreign in membership, the problem of devolution was greatly increased. For as a result not only was there the "Mission" organization whose powers and responsibilities must eventually be given over to the Indian Church, but the very Church organization itself in its higher courts had to devolve from overwhelming American membership and control to Indian membership and self-government.

It may be said that this was the only course possible if a Church in India was ever to get started, for when finally the question of another procedure came before the General Assembly it ruled:

"It is the judgment of the Assembly, without expressing any opinion as to whether there should be a constitutional provision to meet extraordinary cases in the foreign field, that, under the existing law of the Church, Presbyteries only are competent to ordain ministers." (48.36)

According to Church law, then, the only way to be able to ordain Indians would be to start out with the formation of a Presbytery of foreigners.* The formation of such Presbyteries was thus natural from the technical standpoint. But if the great principles of Church formation that swayed Rufus Anderson and the Amoy missionaries fifteen years later had been dominant during 1837-42, when the first three Presbyteries were formed in India, the General Assembly could have been memorialized to make a "constitutional provision to meet extraordinary cases on the foreign field."

A Synod Established. Having established these largely foreign Presbyteries, there was then an eagerness to link these together in a Synod—the next higher body according to the system with which they had been familiar in America. Permission for this was secured as early as 1841 (48.39), but the real organization came four years later. How prepared the actual Indian leadership was for this larger organization may be judged from the fact that at the first meeting of the Synod in 1845 there was present only one Indian minister and no In-

*The General Assembly in one instance met the problem of providing for ordination where there was no Presbytery in the mission field by authorizing the Board of Foreign Missions to pay the traveling expenses of a candidate for ordination all the way from Mexico to New York. (48)

dian elder; at the second meeting in 1848 there were no Indian ministers and two Indian elders; and at the third meeting so long as twenty years after its start (i. e., 1865) there were nevertheless only one Indian minister and three Indian elders in attendance. (76.1)

Later this Synod was made to include the churches in connection with the Presbyterian Kolhapur Mission. This would be from the standpoint of actual distance like putting New York and Chicago in the same Synod in America; but relatively from the standpoint of what the Indian churches could afford to put into the expenses of delegates, it was immensely further. How far this Synod really grew out of the needs of the little, infant Church, and how far it was an importation from the West may be judged from the comment thereon by Secretary Gillespie in his report on his visit to the Indian Missions in 1891. Speaking of the share of this Kolhapur Presbytery in the work of this Synod he says:

"Only now and then, because of the distance and expense, does a missionary find it possible to attend, and when one is present he is virtually shut out from intelligent participation in the business because he is not familiar with Urdu, the language in which all business is conducted. The difficulty is still greater in the case of ruling elders, who, from lack of knowledge of English, are cut off even from fellowship with the other members of the Synod." (59.1)

The Establishment of a General Assembly. The next step in the establishment of an ecclesias-

tically independent Church by the *intra muros* method, was the organization of the highest court —the General Assembly—in India, which was completed in 1904, in co-operation with four other Churches of Presbyterian polity. (130.3)

Here again the demand for the larger organization was not from the Indian section of the Church. The seven Councils of the Presbyterian Alliance (1875-1904) which brought about the formation of the Presbyterian Church in India were composed predominantly of foreigners. (62) Many missionaries felt the whole movement was being forced on the Indian Church. One wrote: "I do not know of one Indian in our Mission who has the remotest enthusiasm for it." (77.2) On the other hand while all would doubtless acknowledge that the majority of Indians were absolutely indifferent to the movement for union (77.3) many would say this was no reason for leaving them in this lamentable condition; furthermore that it was only right that missionaries, who had introduced sectarianism into India, should take the lead in overcoming it.

However, the difficulties mentioned in connection with the Synod were accentuated in connection with the General Assembly which represented a still larger area. Since English is the only language medium possible for such diverse groups as are thus brought together the number who make suitable commissioners is limited. Moreover, the distances are so great, and the ability of the Indian Church to give is so small that at the last Assembly the delegates' traveling expenses alone amounted to 3

per cent of the total amount contributed by the Church for all purposes. (64.1)*

The levy for the Assembly expenses came as a heavy burden on the simple village congregations too unlettered to have any adequate interest in such a national organization. Extension of group consciousness is a matter of slow growth and the masses could not feel any real group responsibility for the "Presbyterian Church in India." In extreme cases pastors were tempted to keep down their roll of communicants so as to escape the heavy per capita levy, which would make a too disproportionate drain on the church budget that could not even support the pastor. (77.4) To meet this acknowledged difficulty various solutions have been proposed in the General Assembly: the meeting every three years instead of every year; the adoption of a sliding scale, etc. (64.2), but the impression remains that the machine is bigger than the life. Nor with the mass movements on in many parts of the Church is the ability to finance this largest type of organization likely soon to be bettered; the total enrollment between 1908-1913 increased six times as fast as the Church's total expenditure. (64.3)

But the gift to India of an ecclesiastically independent Church by the *intra muros* method did not involve simply difficulties of language and finance. Its theology and procedure were safeguarded by a "Confessions, Constitution and Canons of the Presbyterian Church in India" running into

*In the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America the similar proportion is 1½ tenths of one per cent. (48.38)

a twenty-nine paged pamphlet. (63) This naturally embodied the best wisdom and experience of Presbyterian systems of the West upon which the uniting parent Churches could agree. But any foreign made Constitution is apt to be too inflexible for needs growing out of the soil. For example, one Presbytery, struggling earnestly against the ever-present difficulties of poverty amongst the people and lack of higher education amongst the workers, attempted to provide the much needed pastoral care by a plan which Presbyterians in the West had never tried. It was to give a limited ordination to certain men who had received calls from regularly organized churches, and who would be called Pastor-elders. These men were to be authorized to perform marriage ceremonies and administer baptism, but only in their own congregations and so long as Presbytery authorized them to retain the position of Pastor-elder. (77.5) But this was unprecedented, so the Assembly annulled the action of the Presbytery. 77.6)*

The Relation of the Missionary to the Church. In inquiring how far the local church has ecclesiastical independence it may be noted that the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in India provides that:

"Until a church is self-supporting there shall be, if desired by the Mission or Presbytery which con-

*The same difficulty was experienced in the Baptist Telegu district. Their more flexible system allowed a custom to grow up of giving to a man called to serve a certain church authority to perform the ordinances in that particular church. This plan is said to be working well in practice, as it secures all the advantages of the ordained minister with a minimum of the disadvantages. (120.5)

tributes to its support, a representative (minister or elder) of that contributing body on the session and the financial board." (63.1)

Since 75 per cent of the fully organized churches in the Church at large (and 85 per cent of those connected with the Missions of the Presbyterian Church in U. S. A.) are not self-supporting, this means that self-government cannot be claimed by any great percentage. (64.4)

Very adequate provision is made for missionaries *intra muros* by the Constitution. As to representation in Synods:

"Each Presbytery shall appoint one minister and one elder for every two churches or fraction thereof within its bounds, and one missionary for every two missionaries or fraction of two who are not pastors of churches. . . ." As to the General Assembly, "Each Presbytery shall appoint one minister and one elder for every five churches or fraction thereof within its bounds and one missionary for every five ordained missionaries (not otherwise reckoned) or fraction of five. . . ." (63.2)

Let us see how they have used this privilege. Of the seven Moderators of the General Assembly thus far four have been foreigners. In the last three Assemblies out of twenty-eight important standing Committees the Conveners of twenty-three were non-Indian. In the last Assembly there was distinct improvement in this regard, there being three Indian Conveners of Standing Committees out of nine. And yet the number of foreign members on these nine Committees was greater than the number of Indians. (64.6)

It is interesting to read the following resolution brought in by a Committee on Union, itself having a missionary Convener, with five missionary members and only two Indians:

"Recognizing also that our aim is to secure a united indigenous Church of Indian Christians rather than one of foreign missionaries, with its peculiar western characteristics, we feel it to be of supreme importance that the Indian brethren, as far as possible, should be responsible for its development, that the future Church may grow in harmony with oriental rather than occidental ideas:

"*Resolved,* That a Union Committee, consisting of twenty Indian members, as far as possible representing all the Presbyteries of the Church, with a missionary Convener and Vice Convener, be appointed by this Assembly." (64.5)

This resolution was adopted by the Assembly. Passing by the fact that with a missionary Convener and Vice Convener and the Indian members scattered one in each of the twenty Presbyteries the Indians could be nothing more than lay figures, it is interesting to note that the Assembly that passed this resolution appointed seven Standing Committees, six of the Conveners of which were missionaries, with thirty-two missionaries as against fifteen Indian members.*

Other examples of the dominance of the foreign element can easily be found by perusing the Reports of the seven Assemblies already held, but enough has been said here to prevent surprise that

*On the other hand it must be acknowledged that a year later the Indian members of the Union Committee asked that the European element be strengthened, and this was done. (113.8)

up to the present time little enthusiasm on the part of Indians has been developed for the "Presbyterian Church in India."

Indian Opinion as to the Place of the Missionary. Of course it may be said that the Constitution of the Church gives no special favor to any man or body of men; or that this preponderating influence of foreigners in the councils of the Church is due to transitory causes. But let us see how this method of developing an independent Church looks to wise and intelligent Indians. The first Indian Moderator—a man sufficiently distinguished to be given an honorary degree in 1910 by Edinburgh University—wrote in 1905:

> "I am strongly in favor of the proposal [that missionaries should not join the new Church, but should help and influence it from without], as its adoption is sure to develop the new Church. What is our object? If I mistake not, it is to start a strong national Presbyterian Church in India, and this could be only accomplished by allowing the Indians to do their own work, without being hampered by the presence of men of superior intelligence, and many of whom stand toward Indian members in the relation of master and servant. They may at first work awkwardly and unsatisfactorily, but will soon overcome all difficulties, every fall bringing new experience and new strength." (73.1)

After a lapse of ten years he writes again in a private letter:

> "Its constitution and canons ought to be revised so as to secure a larger representation of Indian members and a larger election of Indian Moderators." (73.2)

The fact is that there is a Church in India ecclesiastically independent from the parent Churches who gave it birth, but how much more than in a geographical sense this Church is Indian would be a difficult question to decide.

The Present Trend. Presbyterian missionaries themselves, as we saw in Chapter II, are more and more doubting the wisdom of continuing the present policy. They see that there is an inconsistency in their having a very large share* in the councils of the Indian Church, while in general Indians are rigidly excluded from membership in the Missions. Furthermore many have noted the marked success in creating a real church spirit secured by a certain missionary in the Panjab during the past few years who resolutely held himself to help and inspire *ab extra*. This instance has been a factor in causing more than one leader to advocate the withdrawal of missionaries from Presbyteries as the policy for the future. (72)

A most hopeful sign of change in attitude is found in the Conference of Secretary Stanley White with the Western India Mission of the Presbyterian Church. This Conference resolved that:

"Missionaries should, as far as possible, insist on the Indian brethren taking responsibility, especially in church, Session, Presbytery, Synod and General Assembly, and should never accept for themselves positions of honour and leadership when it is possible for the native brethren to take the places." (68.1)

*Last year in the five Presbyteries with which the Presbyterian Missions are associated, there were 47 ordained foreigners vs. 61 ordained Indians. The inclusion of Indian elders and licentiates would make the foreign ratio considerably less. (64.4)

4. The Reformed Church in America.

In Chapter I we saw that in 1863 the victory for the ideal of independent national Churches was practically won in the Reformed Church. In Chapter II we saw that its missionaries wanted to develop the Indian Church from within. Hence since it was not thought best to sever their home ecclesiastical connection, they became assessors in the Indian classis.

Classis Started Predominantly Missionary. Like the Presbyterians the Arcot Missionaries began by establishing a classis predominantly European, so that they also have had the double problem of educating Indians not only to take over the responsibilities of the Mission but to make their own a Church organization already established and managed of necessity at the start by foreigners. The number of Indians naturally increased until about twenty-five years ago the Indian members of the classis could have (had they so desired) obtained a three-fourths majority. Nevertheless the custom of having every alternate Moderator a missionary was continued. (119.2)

It was in the first year of the Arcot Mission that the first classis was formed, consisting of four foreigners, no Indian pastor, and three Indian elders. (117.1) The motive was definitely the development of the Indian Church by helping it from within, and as such was formulated by the Mission in 1855. It is as follows:

"Native pastors will be united with us in a classis. We deem this to be of vital importance as an admirable

means of cultivating and strengthening the native pastor's character. Bringing them to our side, and giving them a vote with us, will inure them to bear responsibilities, will lead them to think and act as Christian ministers, and will tend to eradicate the servility of the Hindu mind. We shall thus sustain the relation of brethren to them, and be able to uphold them in times of weakness, and teach them to tread the difficult path before them with an equable and cheerful step." (7.11)

This was in accord with the policy of the home authorities, for in the Constitution of the Board of Foreign Missions adopted at their separation from the American Board we find:

"It shall be the steady aim of the Board of Foreign Missions to secure as early as may be wise the organization by the Missionaries of churches, classes, and other Church Courts, according to the order of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church." (81.1)

Rufus Anderson, who in the memorable Deputation to India visited the Arcot Mission while it was still connected with the American Board, and was very doubtful about the wisdom of this policy, commented thus in 1855 upon it:

"We shall have the advantage, dear brethren, of seeing in your mission how the rules and discipline devised for churches in their most advanced state of civilization and progress will answer for such as are babes in Christ, beyond all power of conception in those who are unaided by the painful experience of these heathen lands. After proving all lawful things, may we be enabled to hold fast that which is found to be good." (7.12)

Unfortunately the problem is so complex that sixty years of experience give no unanimity of judgment on the problem Dr. Anderson has thus stated.

The South India United Church. We need not trace the decades in detail. The classis organized in 1854 under predominant foreign control was enlarged by the increasing Mission staff and by more and more Indians, as men were ordained and churches formed. With foreign initiative and leadership the Arcot classis in 1901 entered into the first organic union in India, forming the United Church of South India with the Scotch Presbyterians.

The Relation of Missionaries to it. The relation of missionaries to the local church and to the higher court is thus given in the "Scheme of Organic Union" as adopted:

"Until a church is self-supporting there shall be on the session and the board of deacons a representative of the Mission which contributes to its support. Note: While the representative of the Mission shall, on the attainment of self-support by the church, cease to be an ex-officio member of these courts, he may be elected an elder by the congregation, or may be united by the session to attend its meetings or that of the board of deacons. . . .

"The Presbytery is composed of all the ministers and one elder from each session within a defined district. In view of the peculiar relation that missionaries sustain to both the home and the native Churches they shall, while remaining connected with the home Church and subject to its jurisdiction alone, act as assessors in the Indian Presbyteries and Synod." (87.1)

No special provision was made for missionaries

to be in the highest court, in this respect differing from the careful provision made by the Presbyterian Church in India. In other words, missionaries entered Synod not as missionaries, but only as ordinary representatives elected by the Presbyteries. (87.2)

It was recognized in 1903 that the expenses of missionary attendance at Presbytery and Synod should not be a burden on the Church, and it was resolved that such expense "be a matter of arrangement between the Missions and the assessors." (127.1) The tendency in the *intra muros* system of letting experienced capable Westerners shoulder responsibilities rather than place these educative burdens upon the Indian, is seen in the fact that during the life of this particular organization (1901-1905) the five Moderators and almost all Conveners were missionaries. (127) In the last Synod (1905) missionaries made up over one-fourth of the total number of Commissioners. (127.2) The intricate way in which the new "independent" church was financially linked up to the Mission is indicated by the fact that in a set of fifteen rules adopted by the Synod in 1902 the Mission had to be mentioned in nine of them. (27.3)

Still Further Union. In 1905 this union of South India Presbyterians entered the "Presbyterian Church in India," the nature of whose ecclesiastical independence was treated in the last chapter. In 1908 they withdrew from the "Presbyterian Church in India," to form the South India United Church, the first organic union in India amongst bodies of different polity—which was

described under the section of this chapter on the American Board.

5. The Methodist Episcopal Church.

We saw in Chapter I that while the Methodists have been very active to secure self-support and self-propagation on the part of the Indian Church, they have not emphasized self-government as an end in itself. The impression left on one by a perusal of their literature is that they are dominated by the desire for efficiency in evangelism; that since the West financially simply cannot face the task, self-support is necessary; and since no reasonable increase of missionaries would meet the need, Indians must take up the work of spreading the Gospel to their own people. Indians in some cases are more efficient and in all cases are cheaper than foreign missionaries, therefore work and authority should be placed in their hands. In other words, the controlling thought seems to be efficiency in evangelism rather than any theoretical obligation to raise up an indigenous, independent, virile Church which shall itself assume primal responsibility for the conversion of its people.

We saw in Chapter II that from the first they have worked from within the Church, rather than without it in a Mission. We have now to see how devolution has taken place under these conditions.

Race and the Bishopric. It is the frequently recorded policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church that there should be no discrimination in the choice of a Bishop because of race or colour. (95.5) The

General Conference of 1892 passed the following resolution: "That since all ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church of every kindred tribe and tongue are equally entitled to all its rights and privileges, the race or nationality of Bishops is not a proper subject for legislation, but must be decided by the free votes of those invested with the responsibility of electing Bishops." (95.6) It is with some satisfaction that the Methodists claim to have furnished the first Christian Bishop ever elevated to this office in Southern or Eastern Asia (i. e., in Japan). (95.7)

The expenses connected with the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church are procured in what is called the "Episcopal Fund." An assessment is made on each church of 1¼ per cent of the pastor's salary, including house rent. The Treasurer's report for 1913 shows that the total assessment for India (including Burma) was $336, of which about a third was paid, four Conferences giving nothing. (100)

District Superintendent. Next in importance and dignity to the office of Bishop is that of Presiding Elder or District Superintendent. This office is far more important in India than in America. For on the mission field the District Superintendent is obliged, not only to conduct Quarterly and District Conferences, but to raise up, train and supervise all the force of workers, and frequently to carry the whole burden of their support as well as the financial support of the institutions in his District; to plan, put in operation, and maintain movements for advance, for increased efficiency and self-

support; to prepare all reports and statistics for his District; and to conduct all the local and foreign correspondence involved in such a varied work. Furthermore, on the foreign field, the District Superintendent has to decide almost every detail connected with the multitudinous problems of the work of each charge. Often with no precedent as a guide, he must attend to duties which include not only the evangelistic efforts but the supervision of the educational, industrial and other institutions in his District and in many cases, the construction of the buildings. (101.4)

To this important office Indian ministers are eligible, and from the last report (i. e., 1913) it may be seen that there are four Indian Presiding Elders out of about forty-two. Three of these four are in the oldest Conference. About fifteen per cent of the total Christian membership are under Indian District Superintendents. (101.3) The policy of putting Indians in charge of districts as soon as men of the proper qualifications were found was begun before 1880 and since then has been somewhat extended; but as we have seen only about ten per cent of the Presiding Elders are Indians.

After more than twelve years of experience Bishop Thoburn could say:

"Although here, as in other particulars, we have been obliged to record some failures and mistakes, yet on the whole the experiment has been more than satisfactory. It has to a large extent inspired our preachers and people with a new sense of their personal responsibility, and it has taught our missionaries generally

to recognize the fact that if the millions of India are to be converted to God, scores and hundreds of Christian preachers taken from the common ranks must be promoted to positions of responsibility and trust. In adopting this policy thus far we have undoubtedly taken an important step toward a wider sphere of labor, and a very much larger measure of success than we have before known." (101.5)

Circuits in Charge of Indians. When we come to the next smaller division, we find the Circuits are overwhelmingly under the charge of Indians. There is generally not more than one missionary for evangelistic work to each District in which there will be from eight to fifteen Circuits. We are not surprised then to find that while in 1864 there were fifteen circuits in the oldest Conference, all with one exception in the hands of missionaries, there are now one hundred and six circuits, of which ninety-six are in Indian hands. (102.1)

The Pastorate. Methodists have not hesitated to ordain humble men who know the way and can point others to it. It appears that they have been more ready to ordain men to the ministry than have other Missions. With reference to this course Bishop Thoburn said in his Bishop's address at the Central Conference for 1900:

"In some cases we have not been sufficiently guarded in our course, and both in the admission of candidates to baptism and the ordination of preachers, we have no doubt over and over again made some serious mistakes. It is better, however, a thousand times that we should have to frankly admit and record such mistakes than that we should through long years wait in comparative idleness for the appearance of better candidates who are never likely to come." (101.6)

There came a time, however, when it was seen that the prosperity and power of the Church depended upon their having an efficient ministry, and that the Indian Church would take its shape and character from its indigenous leaders. We find, therefore, in three successive Central Conferences the resolution "that this Conference earnestly exhorts all Presiding Elders to use the utmost caution in bringing forward candidates for the ministry; and that we advise the Annual Conferences of our Church in this country to admit to Conference membership only men of tried capacity and character." (101.7)

The Granting of an Annual Conference to India. When the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church first started in India, the Mission finances and all matters of an administrative character were conducted from New York, while ecclesiastically the position of the missionaries was one for which the Book of Discipline made no provision. Very soon the need was felt for regular church organization on the field (104.2), since if a minister was to be tried, or a candidate admitted to the ministry, this had to be done through some Annual Conference in America. It was plain that if a vigorous, growing mission was to exist, there must be adequate local provision for meeting exigencies as they should arise.

The request of the missionaries in 1864 for full Annual Conference organization was only partially granted, since they were not given the privilege of sending delegates to the General Conference in America, nor of voting on constitutional changes

purposed in the Discipline. Furthermore their Bishop had veto power over their action. (95.9) The missionaries were very restive under these restrictions, and at the next meeting of the General Conference in America in 1868 urged their claim again.

The granting of the powers of an Annual Conference to India was a big step for the General Conference to contemplate. This would clothe each missionary and each Indian admitted to their Conference with the same rights and privileges as had any minister in the United States. A great principle was here at stake—one that would affect the work of the Church in other lands. Were the results of mission efforts to be incorporated into an extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church or not? Furthermore it was realized that the granting of full Annual Conference organization would open the way for Indian representation in the General Conference in America. The possible item of expense in sending delegates from India to America weighed heavily in the discussion. (96.4) More than one of the speakers in the debate, however, felt that such representation was desirable. One man speaking in favour of granting this first foreign Annual Conference said:

"And when they are represented, let one of those representatives be a native preacher—Joel or Zahur-ul-Haqq—and one of these men will be an attraction in the General Conference. . . . Let them come here and they will add weight, influence and character to the General Conference. The item of expense can be met." (96.5)

With some misgivings regular Annual Conference organization was extended in 1868 to India and the first delegate from a foreign land was admitted to the General Conference. (95.11) For a few years it was felt by those in authority that the operations of the Board of Foreign Missions in New York were somewhat hampered by this creation of ecclesiastical bodies with all the powers of Annual Conferences, in the various mission fields. But it was recognized that the advantages far outweighed the disadvantages.

The Admission of Indians to Annual Conferences. A second significant step had been taken by the missionaries in North India the year before full Annual Conference organization had been granted, i. e., in 1867. (102.2) Up to this time there were no Indians in the Conference as organized in 1864; in other words there was no effort to hold off the organization of the Church until the converts felt the need of organization from their own standpoint. But in 1867 the policy was adopted of admitting Indian preachers without any limitation upon these rights or privileges to full membership in the Annual Conference. It was recognized that the time must soon come when the missionary would be in a distinct minority. Hence this was considered a hazardous experiment by some. But Bishop Thoburn bears witness to the fact that "the unhesitating confidence which was reposed by the foreigner in his Indian brother has never in the slightest degree been abused." (101.8) In the oldest Conference the missionaries constituted less than one-fourth of those in full connec-

tion in 1913 (102.3), so that if they were unrestrained by financial considerations, and if they so wished, the Indians could control legislation and elections. As it is they have equal voting powers on the floor of the Conference, whether Annual, District or Quarterly, with foreign missionaries.

Indians in the Central Conference. The supreme legislative body for Southern Asia is the Central Conference, which meets every four years. It deals with many interests which would naturally come before the General Conference in America if it were near enough adequately to comprehend and handle problems that arise in India and Malaysia. In the first Central Conference there were twenty-one Indians out of fifty-one delegates. (110.2) In the last Central Conference (1912) Indians composed about one-fourth of the 104 delegates. Of the ten Standing Committees all the chairmen were missionaries and all but one of the Secretaries were missionaries. Of the 160 on the Committees only 22 were Indian. (101.11) No adequate financial arrangement has been made for the expenses of delegates. Since each is left to meet his own charges it makes it very difficult for Indians to share in the deliberations of the Conference which covers districts as widely separated as Karachi and Manilla. (102.6)

In General Conference. To the General Conference in America two Indians and four Anglo-Indians out of a total of twelve delegates were sent in 1908, and five Indians out of fourteeen delegates in 1912. (95.12) The General Conference expenses are estimated by a Committee of the

General Conference and an equitable proportion is assigned to the various districts of India just as of America. The total contributions to this fund for the quadrennium preceding 1912 amounted to $250 from all of Southern Asia.

The Control of Foreign Funds. The question will be asked: If Indians and missionaries are together in one ecclesiastical, executive, legislative body, and if Indians are in a large majority, how is the expenditure of foreign funds safeguarded? This is done by having in each Mission a Finance Committee which is appointed by the Board of Foreign Missions in New York. Nominations for this office are made by the Missions for confirmation by the Board. Very extensive power is placed in the hands of these Committees. They control the expenditure of all money given by the Board in virtue of the formal approval by the Board of them as their recognized agents. By virtue of their office and election they control all money raised on the field that comes up to the Annual Conference. Besides this it is their duty to prepare estimates for each and every object for which appropriations are needed, to arrange for self-support, to attend to real estate, to regulate the salaries of preachers and workers employed in the field, etc. It will be seen thus that the Finance Committee is one of the most important bodies connected with any Mission.

These Committees are composed of the District Superintendents, *ex officio,* and six elected members. No specifications are made as to race, but as a matter of fact missionaries are always in

the majority. Indians who may be District Superintendents are *ex officio* members of the Finance Committee. For example, turning again to the most advanced Conference, three out of eight District Superintendents in 1913 were Indian; three out of six elected members were Indian; making six Indians on the Finance Committee out of a total membership of fourteen. In the next oldest Conference (i. e., South India) two out of twelve members of the Finance Committee in 1913 were Indians. (102.5)

It will be noticed that although Indians are a majority in the Annual Conferences yet they are never a majority on the Committees which expend the funds—even those raised on the field. It will also be noticed in contrast with the Arcot and Madura Mission plans of devolution which will be described in Chapter VI, that there is no automatic provision for Indians to arrive at a majority in these Committees. Presumably the Board of Foreign Missions will suitably increase the Indian representation as the Church grows in power to give and to control. But no standard in this regard has been announced toward which the Church may work. Furthermore the Board's Manual distinctly states that any redistribution on their part of funds as granted by the General Missionary Committee must be with the concurrence of the Presiding Bishop and subject to the Board of Managers in New York whose instructions must be followed in all cases. (98.2)

We are now in a position to see that in the Methodist Episcopal Church every position theoret-

ically is open to any Indian who may be capable of filling it. This policy has no doubt helped to create good relations between Indians and foreigners, but the extent of this good feeling will more and more depend upon the amount of transfer of authority that is made. The large powers held by the American Bishops and the veto held by the Board in New York over all Annual Conference expenditures will not permanently be satisfactory. As to the possibility of further transfer of authority Bishop J. E. Robinson said in 1910:

"The day is distant when the authority now wielded by the foreign missionaries—shared to a considerable extent by the Indians—can be transferred entirely to the latter. The fact that so much foreign money is needed for the work throughout the churches, and is likely to be needed for some time, will stand in the way of the foreign Mission relinquishing whatever authority it may possess through its control of the purse. But the large measure of autonomy enjoyed by the local churches reduces the pressure of whatever authority the foreign Mission may exercise to a minimum. The relation of the local Indian churches to the foreign missionary element is of such a character that when the time comes for the complete elimination of the latter the transition can be effected with very little difficulty." (120.8)

Adaptation to Indian Needs. Remembering that the same Book of Discipline serves the whole Church, extended as it has been to many mission fields, it is interesting to see what flexibility there has been to meet needs arising in India. One of the most conspicuous contributions of India to the discipline of the Church has been the District Con-

ference as a new unit. It was found that the rank and file of Indian helpers were not ready for the responsibilities of the Annual Conferences, so district associations were formed. Upon these models District Conferences were formed and introduced into the Book of Discipline for the whole Church. In India, where the need gave rise to these Conferences, they often surpass the Annual Conferences in importance and practical results.

The Central Conference for Southern Asia also was a new thing in Methodist polity. Permission for this, which in many ways is a General Conference for that part of the world, was granted in 1884. (95.13) The "Districting of Bishops" (95.14) and several other minor adaptations might also be mentioned. (95.15)

PART TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE DEVOLUTION

IV

THE UTILIZATION OR DISSOLUTION OF THE "MISSION"

IN Chapter II we saw how the different Societies solved the educational problem: Granted that it is wished to develop a self-governing indigenous ecclesiastical body, what is the best way to do it; by working from within or from without? Now there is another problem quite distinct from this, and yet one that has often been very closely associated with it. Missionaries sent out from America have a complicated work to perform (evangelistic, educational, medical, etc.) and the expenditure of large sums of money is involved. The demands of efficiency in immediate administration as well as the education of the Indian Church must be considered. As a result three problems arise:

1. Should the administrative side of the missionary enterprise be carried on from within or from without the Indian Church? Should there be formal organizations of missionaries called "Missions," or should all functions of foreign Societies find expression in the indigenous Churches? In the problem as thus stated the Church is centric.

2. On the other hand instead of the Mission disappearing in the Church, should the Church

come to the Mission? That is, should Indian leaders be given the full status of missionaries, and function for the evangelization of their land in and through a foreign organization? This, it will be seen, is the other extreme, where the Mission is centric.

3. Or if neither of these extremes is taken how may both Mission and Church retain their separate identity with clear-cut distinction of function and yet have the devolution of powers and responsibilities proceed so as to instill the greatest stalwartness and independence into the Native Church? By what adjustments may the Mission continue alongside of the independent developing Church until such a time as it is no longer needed? In the question as last stated is to be found one of the fundamental problems for mission administration. A correct solution if accepted as decisive would go far toward allaying that friction between representatives of native and foreign organizations which characterize so many mission fields.

These three questions will be taken up in successive chapters.

We will best appreciate the significance of the problem as first stated if we look at the history of the Missions of the Presbyterian Church in which the question has been under discussion for over forty years.

1. The Presbyterian Church in U. S. A.

The Development of Thought at the Home Base. The first "Manual" for the use of mission-

aries issued by the Board of Foreign Missions and now known to exist (i. e., of 1862) contains no mention of the Mission. Evidently the problem as to the advisability of having "Missions" had not arisen. Away back in 1836 the first Presbytery had been formed followed by two more in 1841. Of these organizations the missionaries were full members along with such Indian pastors and elders as the development of the Church made possible. Along with these organizations, however, from the first the missionaries as such had organized themselves into what was called the "Mission"—a non-ecclesiastical administrative body for the prosecution of the work of the Board of Foreign Missions. This was simply the natural thing to do when the Presbyterian Board began its foreign work in India in 1837. The American Board had been setting precedents since 1810. The Baptists began in 1814. The polity of neither of these great Churches provided a body with the powers and responsibilities of a Presbytery. Organizations of missionaries therefore into Missions took place. Presbyterians simply followed the customs of the time in setting up Missions and not utilizing their Presbyteries for all the work.

Solution I—Dissolve the Mission, 1873-89. One can see the beginning of a change, however, in one of Secretary Lowrie's books issued in 1868:

"Financial and other business matters are transacted with the missionaries, not as Presbyteries, but as 'Missions.' Such matters could be readily transacted with Committees of Presbyteries, or with the missionaries severally, as is the usage of the Board of Domestic

Missions and the Presbyteries and ministers aided by its funds; this would, it is believed, be a better method than the one heretofore in use: that of settling matters of business with these different Missions, a kind of organization not well suited to the Presbyterian system." (56.3)

The 1873 edition of the Board's "Manual" embodied Dr. Lowrie's thought on this new question that was developing. The Manual reads:

"Many things in the practical work conducted by missionaries may be best done by common or united counsels and labors. The Presbytery forms an admirable body for the supervision of such common work, particularly as both the foreign and native ministers and elders can therein meet on the best terms. If the varied common work is conducted under the charge of Presbytery it may be expedient for it to appoint committees for particular parts of the work, such as the schools and employment of teachers, the printing-press and its publications, the erection or repair of buildings, etc. The Board will regard the ministers and elders sent from this country who are members of Presbytery as charged with special responsibility for the expenditure of the funds remitted by the Treasurer of the Board or received in the field for its use, and will require their recommendation of all estimates and expenses before giving its approval to them.

"In cases not practicable under a Presbytery, as when there is not sufficient number of ministers to form a Presbytery or when the missionaries do not prefer this method of conducting their work, the Board will follow the plan heretofore ordinarily in use—that of constituting the ministers and laymen sent out from this country as a 'Mission or committee of the whole for the transaction of such business as may properly come before them.'" (51.4)

It is perfectly plain from this that the Board

preferred that the work should be done through the Presbyteries rather than through the "Mission." The emphasis is on the Presbytery, although the Manual goes on to outline briefly the organization of a Mission. The arguments by which Secretary Lowrie attempted to change what had always been the practice of the Board's missionaries may be summed up as follows: (a) A double system (Presbytery and Mission) is unnecessary. The purely business, administrative side of the work may be done by committees of the Presbytery as is done in America, thus securing simplicity of action by abolishing the Mission. (b) Organized Missions are un-Presbyterian, not being based on a representative principle, and placing the missionaries in a status where they "must too often act as quasi bishops, not responsible to any Church." (c) The membership of the Mission is too narrow—being merely that of foreign laborers. (d) The difficulty of financial responsibility for the expenditure of foreign funds could be met by the Board's requiring the separate approval and consent of the foreign missionaries wherever the use of foreign funds was in question. (57.4)

From this, as well as from many other places in his writings, (57.5) one can see that Dr. Lowrie was adverse to any departure from Presbyterianism as an ecclesiastical system of Presbytery, Synod and General Assembly; and that the great problem of foreign missions—the development of an independent, efficient, thoroughly self-reliant native Church—had not really become a factor in his consideration of the question. By this last statement

it is not meant to imply that if he had had the problem of the native Church vividly before him, he would not still have come to the same conclusion, but simply that as a matter of fact his discussions do not make the welfare of the native Church centric.

A Time of Transition, 1889-1904. The "Manual" directions of 1873, quoted above, continued practically without change until 1889, when a very definite change in policy was introduced. The wording is a brief echo of the 1873 paragraphs, but all definite suggestion that the Presbytery might absorb the Mission is omitted. This again is followed by a clear definition of the "Mission." And it is clear that the Mission as a separate organization from the Presbytery is more and more being considered essential. One reason appears implicitly in this same edition of the Manual (1889), in a provision for women who were actively engaged in mission work to vote on what is known as woman's work. (51.6) The question now being considered had arisen in the '60's before woman's share in missionary work had developed. Her increasing activity in the missionary enterprise constituted a factor that had to be taken into consideration. Devolution of work and authority amongst missionaries from men to women consumed some constructive thought. So long as the workers were ordained men, or men who could be made Elders, it was conceivable that the Mission could lose its identity in the Presbytery. But it would have been without precedent to introduce women into the Presbytery, nor by 1889 did it seem wise to ignore

their right to a voice in the management of their affairs. If all foreign financed work were managed, however, by a non-ecclesiastical Mission, they could have a voice in the deliberations.

Another factor leading to this change was the formation of union Presbyteries on the foreign field, some of which were noted in a previous section. Unless Missions were distinct from Presbyteries, a union of the latter would necessitate a union of the Missions as well; this would be impossible, representing as they often did Societies in different countries. With Missions distinct the Presbyteries could unite and thus go one step further toward an indigenous Church, leaving the separate distinct Mission behind.

Furthermore there were in increasing numbers those who felt that on its merits and apart from the two practical considerations we have just mentioned the absorption of the Mission by the Presbytery would mean seriously to confuse functions that should remain different, and that the effects could but be harmful to the development of an independent Church. It would be like overwhelming the spontaneous life of the child by personelle, resources and machinery utterly unsuited to him.

The edition of the Manual in 1894 reflects this new view point still further, by defining very definitely the functions of a Mission:

"The Mission has the general care and supervision of all work within its limits. All questions of policy, method and expenditure are subject to its judgment and all requests requiring the action of the Board should be accompanied by the action of the Mission

upon them. Tours of exploration or any unusual work should be undertaken only with the advice of the Mission.

"The Mission assigns and in general supervises the work of the individual missionaries to the end that all forms of labor may have the benefit of united counsel and may promote the interests of the work as a whole. It is proper, of course, that the views of all missionaries regarding their location and work should have weight with the action of the Mission; an appeal to the Board for final decision can be made." (51.7)

Solution II—Sharply Distinguishing the Functions of the Mission 1904-1914. Counsels which were keeping the highest welfare of the native Churches centric brought about still further changes in the edition of the Manual in 1904. This and each of the three succeeding editions omit, as we have seen in Chapter II, all specific directions that missionaries should identify themselves with the Presbyteries on the field. It furthermore removed all suggestion that Presbyteries could do the work of the Mission according to Dr. Lowrie's old plan, and came out with a clean-cut enunciation of the Board's desire for the Presbytery to increase—but not by the absorption of the Mission.

The section which appeared first in 1904 and which has been continued ever since in the Manual reads:

"It is the desire of the Board to magnify the Presbytery, and to have such parts of the work committed to its direction and control as the Mission, with the approval of the Board, may deem wise from time to time, looking to the speedy establishment of a self-supporting and self-propagating Native Church."

And then still more explicitly is enunciated the desirability of making a clear-cut distinction of function between the Mission and the native Church. This is done by quoting the action of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1908:

"That in the judgment of the Assembly the best results of Mission work in Brazil and other foreign fields will be attained only when right lines of distinction are observed between the functions of the native Churches and the functions of the foreign Missions; the Missions contributing to the establishment of the native Churches and looking forward to passing on into the regions beyond when their work is done, and the native Churches growing up with an independent identity from the beginning, administering their own contributions and resources unentangled with any responsibility for the administration of the Missions or of the funds committed to the Mission."

This is the last official statement by the Board and the Assembly on the question now before us. The native Church is manifestly central; the Presbyteries as embodying native representatives are to be magnified; missionaries (by implication from what is omitted from previous Manuals) are to withdraw from the Presbyteries and thus give the native Churches a chance to gain independence of thought and initiative; work is to be turned over to the Presbyteries just as rapidly as the Presbyteries mature enough to take it; but through it all the Mission is to be distinct as long as foreign missionaries are needed in the land at all. In short the Manuals since 1904 set forth a principle intended to secure true Missions and true native Churches.

The Development of Thought on the field. So

far we have been tracing the development of the problem in America as expressed in the official actions of the Board of Foreign Missions. Let us now turn to India and see how the question worked itself out on the field. It was first raised in the Panjab Mission in 1872 (the year before it was first discussed in the Board's Manual). During the twenty-one years between 1872 and 1893 the question came up for discussion thirteen times. (52.10)

Shall the Mission Be Dissolved? 1872-1880. We will not attempt to go into all the detail of this long effort to discover the best solution to this very real problem. But it will help us to appreciate the general problem of devolution in Mission administration if we pause at the more important stages of the discussion. The original statement of the question in 1872 was:

> "Shall we recommend the Board to dissolve the Ludhiana Mission, leaving all business involving the expenditure of funds to a Financial Committee of each Presbytery, and all other business to the several Presbyteries of which the Mission is now composed?"

A committee was appointed to correspond with the Board on the subject, to draw up a scheme, and present it at the next Annual Meeting. (52.10)

Considerable difficulty and delay, however, was experienced in drawing up a practical and acceptable measure. By 1877 a plan came up for consideration the preamble of which shows the reasons urging the Mission on to action and which reads as follows:

"*Whereas,* We are more and more convinced that the responsibility of missionary work not only belongs to the Church in its organic capacity, but that its evangelistic spirit is likely to be fostered and its interests in the conversion of the heathen increased in proportion to the amount of responsibility which in this respect is laid upon it; and,

"*Whereas,* The introduction of any practical work of this kind into our Presbyteries in addition to the dry routine which hitherto has occupied most of the time of their sessions is likely to exert a good influence upon the native members, and so far as our influence extends, to give a missionary impress to the rising Church in India—therefore . . . (and then follows a plan for the dissolution of the Mission)." (52.2)

The plan proposed at this time was fully discussed, but the Mission failed to agree on it, and a new committee was appointed. (52.3)

This committee reported in 1878 adversely to the dissolution of the Mission, giving as their reason:

"The Presbyteries as now constituted, embracing in almost every case a number of men, especially elders, who cannot be regarded as competent, with the training and experience they have to control missionary work such as the Mission is now carrying on, ought not to have such responsibility laid upon them." (52.4)

Partial Devolution Resolved Upon, 1880-84. But the problem would not remain settled in this form. In 1880, after several plans had been proposed and rejected, a paper containing the following leading features was adopted:

"The evangelization of the heathen is a spiritual work, and therefore belongs properly to the Presby-

teries; but since money is required to sustain evangelistic agencies, the work has a secular side also. If the Presbyteries are able to raise all the money needed for such objects, and so carry on the work without reference to any outside help, they are obviously competent to do so. The spiritual and secular departments alike may then be under their arrangement. . . . But suppose the Presbyteries should be unable to raise money enough to support one or other of these agencies or should be unable even to secure suitable agents, then the thing would be to look for help somewhere outside its own domain.

"To meet just such emergencies in America the Board of Home Missions exists, and when such emergencies arise in the Foreign Field (which necessarily can be only after Presbyteries have been organized and have begun their work) they ought to be met by the Board of Foreign Missions. That Board should be asked to aid either in money or in men according to the occasion—sometimes in both. The Board, however, being far away, acts through a local committee called the Mission, and so it is through the Mission that the Presbytery should make its applications for aid.

"Should aid be granted either in men or money, it is obvious that appointments made by the Presbytery and depending in any measure on such grants, should be made with the sanction of the Mission; and all agents supported either wholly or in part by the funds of the Board should be held liable to have their work inspected by the Mission; and the Mission to require periodical reports of their work—either directly or through the Presbytery . . ." (52.5)

This paper furthermore provided that the Mission should have the entire control of the work of missionary ladies, of Mission day-schools, press, orphanage and Christian boarding schools. The transfer of missionaries from the bounds of one Presbytery to another should also be left to the dis-

cretion of the Mission, though subject to the request of the Presbyteries. Lastly, as to actual devolution, the immediate oversight of the work of native preachers, catechists, and colporteurs should be made over to Presbytery.

Thus after eight years of discussion, in which more than once a motion had been passed that the Mission should be completely dissolved that all its functions might pass to the Presbyteries, we have in 1880 the conviction that the only work that could with propriety be transferred was the supervision of "native preachers, catechists and colporteurs."

This plan went into operation in 1882, but developed difficulties. One Presbytery used its new powers to elaborate and adopt a graded scheme of pay for catechists on a liberal scale. The Mission who had to pay the bills rejected the plan of the Presbytery "on the ground that the Mission does not approve of the principle on which it is based." Furthermore, when next year the Presbytery asked the Mission to define the powers of the Presbytery "in the matter of control as well as oversight," the Mission began to realize that the actual supervision of the work of catechists must be in the hands of individual missionaries; and that the determination of their pay must be in the hands of the Mission. (52.6)

Again the whole question was taken up *de novo* and again the trend of effort in constructive plans was to dissolve the Mission. In connection with considering such a radical plan of devolution it might be well to note that in 1884 the statistical tables show that the number of missionaries was 77

per cent of the number of possible Indian Elders and ordained men in the Presbyteries of the Ludhiana and Furrukhabad Missions. (50.6)

Dissolution of the Mission Abandoned, 1891-1914. At last a joint meeting of the two Presbyterian Missions was held in 1891 at which a carefully devised plan for turning all the work over to the Presbyteries was long and earnestly discussed. In the end the plan was rejected as a hopeless and impracticable measure. The point of view from which the decision was made is shown in the report: "We believe the giving over of all or even a great part of the business of the Mission to Presbytery would injure the Church." (59.2)

By this time also the Board in America, which had since 1873 been favoring the dissolution of the Mission, had begun to change its point of view. There still remained, however, a few who believed the dissolution of the Mission to be the ideal solution. To guard against such possible action in one of the Missions the Board requested it "to submit any plans for transferring the administration of the work supported by the Board to the Presbytery before actually making proposals." (49.7) Within the past three years the old proposal of dissolution of the Mission has been urgently pressed by one of the oldest and most experienced of the missionaries. It is well to see how strong and sympathetic to the Indian Church modern arguments for the dissolution of the Mission may be:

"This policy recognizes no West and no East in the Church; it recognizes that there are diversities of gifts, but not that the gifts of administration are given only

to men from the West; it confidently trusts the Church, represented by the Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods and Assembly to lay hands on the right men for service whether born in India, Scotland or America; it wins the confidence and love of the Church in India, every foreign missionary a member of that Church, his standing and authority in the hands of his brethren in India, whether as elder or minister; it gives the young and inexperienced Indian elder and minister the benefit of closest fellowship with Christian men of other nationalities, training him thus in the handling of difficult subjects, giving him the benefit of the kind of training the young and inexperienced foreign missionary obtained by becoming a full member of the Mission within a year of his arrival in India; it puts the young foreign missionary at once in the right environment, the Indian Church, rather than 'The Mission,' a body of foreigners. It teaches him to feel and say in his best moments, 'Your servants for Jesus' sake.' . . . We urge the adoption of a policy which will bring missionaries more and more into the heart and life of the Church in India . . . and entrusting to committees, elected on the ground of fitness, irrespective of nationality, much of the work now carried on by the Mission." (78.2)

The complete transference of the work of the Missions to the Presbyteries, however, meets with the approval of but a small minority at the present time. The argument for the separate identity of the Mission is a long one, and since the object of this chapter is to show historically what has been done rather than what ought to be done, we will simply give an indication of its trend from a private letter of one of its strongest exponents:

"It seems to me that every course of action should be avoided which obscures the ideal of a true indige-

nous, independent Church, and which hides the scantiness of that Church's spirit of sacrifice and the weakness of that Church's spiritual aggressiveness by confusing it with other activities and by burying it within an immense and overwhelming financial subsidy from without. Men show themselves capable of administering that which is another's only by proper administration of that which is their own, and I do not fit my son for a strong and independent life by making him co-equal with me in the administration of that which I, and not he, have produced. And transferring the figure to Missions, it seems to me fair to say that the harmonies and effective administration of the joint capital is of less importance than that training of the Native Church to produce a capital of its own; to stand up on its feet with a clean, vigorous, true life and a spirit of wholesome and intense and self-respecting independence. I believe that a few Sawayamas in India would do more to bring about this day than could be brought about by any adjustment of Mission policy or relationship of organization." (74)

More or less then for forty years the question as to whether there should be a Mission has been before the Presbyterian Missions in India. Their contribution to the solution of this problem after these years of thought and experiment is the conviction that Missions must continue as long as missionaries are needed, but progressively passing over their functions to the Indian Church as it becomes able to take them. This very absorption and persistence in an attempt that brought only negative results has prevented their leadership among missions in really practicable and thoroughgoing plans of devolution. What they have done in the way of devolution since giving up the effort of dissolving the Mission, will be seen in Chapter VI.

2. The Reformed Church in America.

Consistent Insistence upon a Mission. The problem that has absorbed so much of the thought of the Presbyterian Board did not trouble the Board and Missions of the Reformed Church in America. In the Constitution of their Board adopted in 1857, we find:

"When three or more missionaries are located near each other, they shall organize themselves for business as a Mission, by the choice of a President, a Secretary, and Treasurer, which form shall continue (even when they may organize a Classis), until they require no further aid; but no native shall take part in the action of such Mission." (81.2)

This direction is virtually repeated in the Board's "Manual" for 1909. (82.1) The Arcot Mission therefore has preserved itself distinct from the Classis.

3. The American Board.

Missions Organized. From the beginning of the work at Bombay the missionaries of the American Board were organized as a self-governing community, or Mission. With the enlargement of the work a constitution and by-laws were adopted in 1834. (16.6) Owing to distance of travel and difference in work what is now the Marathi Mission was divided into two Missions in 1842 and into four by 1852. But a centralizing policy brought all together again in 1860. (4.7)

Similarly the Madura and Ceylon missionaries

of the American Board have been organized into Missions and the policy has been consistently followed.

4. The American Baptist Mission Society.

The question that in the Presbyterian Missions took so many years to solve—viz., the dissolution of the Mission in order that its work might be done in the Presbytery—could not arise in the Baptist polity, for the churches as independent units have no central organization to be injured by neglect or to be jealous of its powers. There are Baptist Associations and Conventions, but their purpose and character are far less closely knit than the Presbytery, the Classis, or the Local Unions within the bounds of the Marathi, and the Madura Missions. And yet in China devolution of mission work to a Baptist Convention is taking place and this would theoretically be possible in India. (35.3)

There have been, however, three very interesting swings of the pendulum in the Baptist Missions in respect to the advisability of organizing missionaries into definite councils. The determining consideration in each case, however, has been only indirectly the welfare of the Indian Church; the primal thought in the changes was efficiency in administration.

The Formation of Missions. The first official record we have been able to find on the subject is in the Regulations adopted by the Board of Managers in 1827:

"Missionaries who reside within a convenient distance shall hold stated and occasional meetings for solemn consultation and prayer in reference to the object of their pursuit; and no missionary shall attempt anything new or important, involving expense or otherwise affecting the interests of the mission, but with the advice and consent of a majority of the brethren, as well as in conformity with the regulations of the Board." (46.5)

In 1838 measures were taken for a more perfect organization of Missions and the Executive Committee of the Board voted to divide certain Missions of the Board and to constitute others. (46.6)

Their Abolition. This centralization, however, reached its climax in 1853 when the Deputation to Burma showed that in practice the plan was producing friction amongst the missionaries. (37.2) One of the Reports of the American Baptist Missionary Union thus describes the influences at work to produce a change:

"The Missions thus organized assumed to direct all local matters, as for instance where there should be a school, and what should be its grade, and who should teach it. It often happened that four men in a Mission assumed to decide where a fifth should go, and what he must do, whether he felt free to do it or not. This method tended to produce alienation and strife. It seemed unwise for the Union to take away this authority of the Mission over the liberty of its members and to make each man as free in his actions as pastors are in this country." (23.3)

The official change came in 1859 when the Revised Regulations then adopted provided: "That hereafter there shall be no organized Missions, but

that every laborer shall be regarded as immediately responsible to the Executive Committee. . . ." (46.7) Thereafter the term "Mission" had respect to territorial divisions (viz., "Rangoon Mission") rather than the organization of a company of missionaries.

Underlying this transition seems to have been a false analogy between local churches and groups of missionaries associated together on the mission field. The freedom from accountability to any external earthly authority which Baptist polity has consistently ascribed to the church was carried over into another realm and led each missionary to feel that he should be allowed to act in absolute independence of his fellow-missionaries. The missionary expected to be as free as the pastor or evangelist in America. The general influence of this position still stamps the Baptist missionary and only slowly is it being overcome by the sheer demands of efficiency in Mission administration. (35.1)

Modern Tendency Toward Missions. In the Revised Regulations of 1859 which dissolved the Missions of the Baptist Board, a suggestion was made, however, that bore fruit in India forty years later in an approach to the old system of Missions. After directing that there should be no organized Missions they added:

> "The missionaries in any particular field are advised to form associations among themselves according to convenience, for free conference, mutual counsel and encouragement respecting their work." (23.4)

These Mission Conferences, then, were started to

meet the social and religious needs of the missionaries with little or no permanent organization. Gradually they took on a more definite form, and they have become very serviceable in the promotion of plans by which advisory action in relation to mission interests is secured on mission fields.

During the last fifteen years this development has been much more marked. Both the Executive Committee in America and many workers on the mission fields found that the practice of dealing almost exclusively with individual workers brought obvious disadvantages with the growth and complexity of the work. To meet this an important step was taken in 1899, in the suggestion of a plan for advisory action on the part of Mission Conferences upon all questions relating to financial appropriations or to the work of the several missions. (33.2) The advisory functions of these Conferences together with the system of Reference Committees later developed has resulted in a distinct approach on the part of the Baptists to the old type of "Mission." In theory the individuality of the missionary is still given considerable freedom, for overt authority on the part of a "Mission" is inconsistent with traditions cherished amongst the Baptists. The fear has been expressed that this centralization in Conference action would tend to lessen the sympathy between the missionary and the Indian Christian (23.8), but it is said that such has not been the result. (40.1)

5. The Methodist Episcopal Church.

Identification of Mission with Church. Theoretically the Methodist missionaries could have organized themselves into Missions apart from the Quarterly, Annual, Central and Quadrennial Conferences of the Church system proper, just as Presbyterians have elected to carry out their missionary administrative work in Missions rather than in Presbyteries, Synods and General Assembly. But the establishment of such Missions separate from the Church is not found in Methodism.* In other words the Methodists, beginning their work in India in 1856, did exactly with reference to their system what Dr. Lowrie so strongly and persistently urged without result with reference to the Presbyterian system.

After the work of any group of missionaries has passed its initial stage† a regular Annual Conference of the Church is organized. The Methodists have chosen, therefore, to develop their Church in India, working from within not only ecclesiastically, but administratively.

The Effect On Church Union. One very marked result of this interrelation or rather identity of Church and Mission in the Methodist economy is that Church union in India for them is made exceedingly difficult. Their Central Conference includes districts as widely separated as Karachi and Manila. If the Methodists of any section of the

* An exception (practically under compulsion) is found in Japan.

† Called in their Book of Discipline a "Mission," but by that meaning something different from the technical sense in which we have used the term in this inquiry. cf. (99)

country should go into a union such as the South India United Church, they would have not only to withdraw from the Methodist Episcopal Church but to set up entirely new machinery for carrying on their missionary work. Hence while other Churches are working toward organic union in India in the interests of the Indian Church the Methodists stand for federation.

Provision for Woman's Work. It may be asked how they have overcome the problem of woman's work which as we saw in section one of this chapter was one of the factors which made the dissolution of the Mission seem impossible for the Presbyterians. In the first place it may be said that women, whether foreign or Indian, are eligible to membership in all Church Conferences except to that one Conference composed of ordained men only and to which no layman is delegated. (120.6) While women may be full members of all but one of the Conferences in the Methodist system the solution of the arranging for woman's work lies rather in the fact that connected with each Annual and District Conference there is a properly organized Woman's Conference, meeting at the same time and place, and taking full cognizance of woman's work. (105.2) In practice their powers are very great although all their actions must be reviewed by the men.

6. Summary.

Historically we have found three solutions to the question whether the administrative side of mission work be carried on within or without the

Indian Church. One Society has consistently done all its work from within the Church. Three of the five Societies considered have acted on the policy of having definitely organized Missions quite separate from the Indian Church (although one for over twenty years made earnest efforts toward the dissolution of their Mission). The fifth Society after having tried the method of organized Missions abandoned it for reasons connected more with their polity than with the development of the Indian Church, and have worked from without the Indian Church by an individualistic method.

In only one instance amongst these is there strong evidence of policy being consciously determined with the development of the Indian Church definitely in mind. In this case, after a long and serious consideration of the dissolution of the Mission, the idea was abandoned, and the principle was established that "best results in mission work . . . will be attained only when right lines of distinction are observed between the functions of the native Churches and the functions of the foreign Missions; the Missions contributing to the establishment of the native Churches and looking forward to passing on into the regions beyond when their work is done, and the native Churches growing up with an independent identity from the beginning, administering their own contributions and resources, unentangled with any responsibility for the administration of the Missions or of the funds committed to the Mission."

V

THE APPOINTMENT OF INDIANS AS FULL MEMBERS OF THE MISSION.

THE second problem as stated at the beginning of the last Chapter is whether devolution should take place by identifying Indians with the Mission. In its extreme form it raises the question whether they should be made full members with the status of foreign missionaries. It is interesting to see how persistently this problem arises. Those who have not lived in India can hardly realize the constant pressure that falls upon missionaries to secure this recognition for outstanding fellow-workers.

Government Analogy. This is due in the first place to the analogy that is drawn between the British Government in India and the Foreign Missionary Societies. The constant refrain is: Government admits us to its service, could not the Mission do the same? The fact that the political goal of most young Indians with western education is service under a foreign government leads easily to the idea that the highest place in religious service is employment under a foreign missionary Society. For it is not easy to have a thoroughgoing spirit of independence in the Church when this spirit finds little chance for development

in the State. Both of these ambitions involve dependence. This is not our ideal for the Indian Church.

Sense of Injustice. There can be no doubt as to how most Indians feel upon this question. A few years ago a symposium was held in the "Young Men of India" on the question: "Why more educated men are not entering distinct Christian work?" There were thirteen correspondents amongst leading Indian Christians in various sections of the country. All the correspondents declared that the organization of Indian missions, so far as Indian workers are concerned, stood greatly in need of reform. The chief points complained of were four: an Indian worker is not allowed a voice in the deliberative assemblies of the mission in the same way as a European or American missionary; an Indian worker cannot hope to reach an independent position, so as to be free with regard to his work; Indian workers feel that their position in mission work is unstable—they are liable to be dismissed at the whim of individual missionaries; salaries are insufficient, and there is no pension. (114.2)

The Indian Moderator in his address at the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in India in 1913 said that the principal reason why the educated Indian Christian does not enter the ministry, is that he "resents the difference made between his status and pay and that of a European missionary for no other reasons than that he is an Indian." (113.12) In further illustration of this same point of view let us see the way it is put by a prominent Christian layman in Government ser-

vice in an address before a certain Presbytery. He said:

"However well and however long an Indian missionary may work and however successful he may be in the conversion of souls he is not entitled to the same salary, position and status as a foreign missionary simply for the reasons that he is an Indian and that the money spent on his pay is not Indian money. . . . The question of status is the chief hindrance to educated Indian Christians joining the ministry. At present an Indian missionary has no vote and no position. It is true that here and there we find a missionary who is consulted on missionary questions on account of his ability and character, but such a position is unsatisfactory for both parties, and the days are past when such a procedure can succeed. I believe it is a fact that wives of all foreign missionaries have a vote in the Mission whether they do anything or not. Yet no Indian, though it is so many years since Christianity was preached in this land, has yet been given a vote or a hand in the disposal of Mission problems. It cannot be said that there are no Indian Christian missionaries fitted for the vote, and an equal position with foreign missionaries." (75)

Now there can be no doubt that all these leaders would at once agree that these strictures are not equally applicable to all Missions. Some Missions, as we shall see in Chapter VI, give Indian workers rights of deliberation and an independent position, and in others, where these privileges may not be sufficiently given, there is a certain amount of stability in the position of ordained Indian missionaries. But the symposium, the address by the Indian Moderator and paper by an Indian civilian may be taken as illustrative of opinions that could

be reduplicated indefinitely from practically every discussion where the subject is raised by Indians. Whether the solution implied in these frank Indian judgments is sound may be questioned; but that we have here facts of attitude cannot be doubted. The real solution will lie in the discovery and counteraction of the causes of these attitudes. But in the meantime the refusal of the home Societies to give Indians an equal status with foreign missionaries, along with their desire to work with the Mission if some suitable status and salary can only be devised, raises one of the difficult problems that men on the field have to work out with patience and experiment. Of these two things what Indians more desire is an equal status with missionaries; what the Societies seem most ready to concede is salary.

Educational Method. Furthermore there are those who in the endeavor to serve the highest interests of the Indian Church, urge that at present the sphere of influence of the Indian pastor is small; that the dignity and status of being a member of the Mission would greatly enlarge this realm of influence. They would say that if ever the Indian brethren are to conduct affairs they must be first taught how, not only by example but also by enjoying a share in the responsibilities of administration. With this in view at the Bombay Decennial Mission Conference the suggestion was made that "the ordination of a brother should be the key to admit him to the councils of the Mission." (119.3)

The Needs of Missions for Advice. When to the

governmental analogy, the very distinct sense of injustice on the part of the more capable Indian workers, and the sympathetic desire to train them for their service to India, you add the more and more acknowledged and very real need on the part of the Missions for the advice in their work of expert Indians a very strong argument is produced. Many missionaries also are beginning to acknowledge the moral obligation they have in permitting the earnest, intelligent, zealous Christians of a mission field to have a voice in how their country is to be evangelized. Thus we are not surprised to find that one of the most authoritative, as well as most recent, judgments of Indian missionaries on this question points in this direction. It is found in a resolution of the National Conference at Calcutta during the series of Continuation Committee Conferences in 1912-13. While not absolutely explicit on this question of the full membership of Indians in Missions it can be (as we shall see that in fact it has been) urged in support of such membership. It reads:

"This Conference desires further to record the conviction that whenever capable and spiritually minded men and women are discovered, Churches and Missions should make a real and unmistakable advance by placing Indians on a footing of complete equality, in status and responsibility, with Europeans, and thus open for them the highest and most responsible positions in every department of missionary activity." (121.1)

Reasons Against Such Appointments. When, therefore, such repeated requests come from Indians and missionaries on the field, why do the Societies

at home with practical unanimity refuse this status to those about whose ability there is no question? The answer to the political argument in its narrowest form is easy. But to point out that India is taxed for the support of the British Civil Service but is not taxed for foreign Missions, that there is no case here of taxation without representation, and that therefore there is no question of right involved, would be simply cold logic and apart from the spirit in which any conclusion must be reached. There are more urgent reasons.

The request frequently arises in behalf of men or women who have been thoroughly educated in England or America. To such a request it is replied that a few appointments of this kind would result in a flood of applications from men already in these countries, and would encourage immigration by men who would hope to go back with the status of foreign missionaries. It would be very difficult to mete out justice between foreign-trained and Indian-trained men of ability if once the clean-cut line between the foreign missionary and the Indian worker is laid aside.

The Societies in America, as well as the Missions in the field, must be alert to devolve their responsibilities. To begin adding Indians to their list of missionaries would be to increase indefinitely their ties with the field instead of decreasing them. This would not take place, perhaps, if the Indian simply supplanted an American, but it would if all who are fitted for it and desire it could be appointed.

Missionaries of wide experience say that such

an appointment tends to separate the Indian so appointed from his people; it connects his life, associations and interests with a foreign régime rather than with his church; that it is apt also to create pride of position and that it would be a strain greater than most could bear not to magnify the status of having direct relations with America rather than with his Church; that it is apt also to Indian agents working with the Missions it would be an unjustifiable distinction to set a few apart for relationship with America. Authorities here do not feel they would be right in creating inevitable separation between leaders and people.

Still further it is urged that such a step would be against the interests of self-support and self-government. If one is appointed why not many? Universalize it and suppose that all the Mission Colleges and schools were staffed with Indian Christian teachers, all hospitals with Indian Christian doctors, all the stations under Indian workers, and all the foreign missionary appointments held by Indians, would this be any very noteworthy achievement for the Indian Church? It would indeed show that the Christian community possessed men of intelligence and ability. But such a situation might co-exist with resignation on their part to dependence in control and support. Devolution to a thoroughly independent indigenous body would in this case be harder and more hopeless than if one waited patiently for the spirit and the power of self-reliance to develop in the growing Church independent from the start. It would mean a perpetuation of the overshadowing of the

Church by the Mission, to which the best men would tend to gravitate. This would leave the actual leadership and setting of standards in the Church to inferior men.

It is from this general point of view that Bishop Wm. R. Tucker of Uganda gives the following ringing testimony to his convictions on this subject. It could be said in any land by one who believes in and achieves (as has Bishop Tucker) the ideal of a vigorous independent Church. He says:

"For my part, I would rather die than ask an English Society to take one of my Native Clergy upon its list. At any rate, instead of taking pride and pleasure in it, I should regard it as a terrible disaster, and a disgrace and shame both to myself and the Native Church. As long as Societies, Bishops and native congregations view such a proceeding as I have referred to with approval, pride, and pleasure, so long will the independence of Native Churches be absolutely hopeless of attainment." (132.2)

Here then, again, we face a problem in education. Can the end best be served by detaching pastors and other leaders from their people and knitting them to an organization that is acknowledged to be foreign and temporary? Or even if it means deep sacrifice on the part of those leaders in setting high rich ideals of independence from the first should they not rather cleave to their people in confident expectation of that fruit which springs up a hundred fold when the grain falls deep into the furrow? Having seen the problem let us find how Boards and Missions have actually met it.

2. Presbyterian Church in U. S. A.

Missionary Approval of Membership of Indians in Mission. Once in almost every decade for the past sixty years the problem of permitting Indian membership in Presbyterian Missions has been up for decision. From India more than from other Presbyterian mission fields the problem has been raised. It is a marked example of how persistently environmental influences creep in to shape judgment even to the exclusion of fundamental principles. The missionaries submerged in an atmosphere permeated with the ambition and the practice of taking government service; hearing continually the complaint that, in the service of the Mission, status is denied the most worthy representatives of India; with true respect for the capabilities of outstanding men, and with a real desire to show no racial superiority, missionaries have over and over again sought from the authorities in New York the boon of full membership in the Mission for their Indian fellow-workers.

Indians connected with the Presbyterian Church in India on their part may well feel their claim is all the more reasonable since the vast majority of Presbyterian missionaries have a full vote in the Presbytery, Synod anl General Assembly. It seems that there is inconsistency in the missionary's including himself in the Indian Church courts and excluding the Indian from any share in the functions of the Mission. Or if they are admitted

with less than full status, this honour is given to extremely few, while all ordained missionaries may join the Presbyteries.

The home authorities would say that the way out of this inconsistency is not for the Indian to be given full status in the Mission, but for the missionary to forego full status in the Presbytery. The Board therefore has repeatedly refused to grant direct appointment to Indians. The subject first came up in 1848 when Rev. Gopie Nath Nundy presented a claim to be regarded not only as a member of the Presbytery, which had not been called in question, but also as a member of the Mission in such a sense as to be entitled to an equal share in directing all its business matters with other missionaries. The Board decided that his claim to be a full member of the Mission "so far as pecuniary business matters are concerned, cannot be allowed." (49.14)

In 1870 the Mission requested that the Board appoint two specified Indians as members of the Mission (52.8) and the request was repeated for one of them in 1889. (52.9) In the midst of the very earnest thought given to the problem of the dissolution of the Mission from 1873-1891 as outlined in the previous Chapter we find the pendulum swing to the opposite extreme—the inclusion of Indians in the Mission. At one stage (viz. 1878), when they had come for the time to the conclusion that the Presbyteries were not competent to control work such as the Mission was carrying on, a substitute plan was proposed that the Board in New York should be requested to appoint

certain well-qualified Indians as full members of the Mission (52.7)

In 1891 at a combined meeting of the Panjab and North Indian Missions with one of the Board Secretaries on the field, their committee recommended that, on a two-thirds vote of the Mission, Indian brethren should cease to be employees of the Mission and have direct connection with the Board. "We believe that the adoption of this recommendation by the Board would be of great benefit to our native church and of help to the Missions in their counsels." (59.3) Still again in 1898 the Panjab Mission asked the Board to permit the Mission to unite with themselves as voting members a certain number of Indians," say four or five, election to membership to be by unanimous vote of the Mission." (52.11) Again with reference to one who seemed to the Mission like a very exceptional case (an Indian of fine family, character, ability and education in America) a request was made to the Board, viz., that they appoint this person "with the full status and privileges of an American missionary, the only limitation being in regard to her salary, allowances and furlough." (52.12) The most recent authoritative declaration of Presbyterian missionaries on this question was at the Conference of Representatives from the three Presbyterian Missions with one of the Board's Secretaries at Allahabad in 1913. One resolution there passed reads:

"The highest and most responsible positions in every department of work carried on by the Missions should be open to members of the Church whose gifts and

character show them worthy of trust and honour." (69.1)

This, like the resolution of the Continuation Committee National Conference quoted in the introduction, is not explicit on the question of full membership in the Mission and can be interpreted so as not to involve this; but many desired it to mean no less than approval of that measure.

The Board's Consistent Refusal of Membership to Indians in Mission. It appears from investigation that the Board has only once wavered from a consistent opposition to this tendency to make Indians full members of the Mission. In 1888 in connection with a very complicated case of an appeal from the Mission to the Board by an Indian the Board adopted a report, one resolution of which reads as follows:

"Your Committee would further suggest that the office be recommended to report to the Board whether in their judgment it is possible to adjust more happily its relations between foreign missionaries and native ministers, either by transferring to Presbytery and Synod some of the functions now exercised by the Mission, or by making native ministers, in some cases, appointees of the Board, with a voice in the practical administration of Mission affairs." (49.8)

This, however, was not more than a suggestion, and the actual practice of the Board has been uniformly against the appointment of Indians to full membership in the Mission.

Consultative Members. Precedents have, however, been established for Indian honorary members of the Mission with full right to attend Mis-

sion meetings, take part in discussions, offer resolutions, but not to vote. The Panjab Mission has had three such cases since 1890; the North India Mission has had one; and at the Conference of the Western India Mission with the Board Secretary in 1912 it was resolved:

"That while it would not seem wise for the Indian brethren to be full members of the Mission, it might well be considered if they could not be brought into some advisory and consultative relation to the Mission, that they might be strengthened by feeling that the missionary was dependent upon them." (68.1)

3. Reformed Church in America.

The Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America has never appointed a native of India as a missionary on the regular basis. (92) However, their Arcot Mission in 1913 raised this very question with reference to a special case. The plan proposed was that an Indian gentleman and his wife—mature, experienced, tried workers—should be given permanent employment by the Board and should be termed "Indian missionaries." So far as the work committed to them would be concerned they should stand related to the Mission as any foreign missionary, i.e. in full charge, subject to the rules and the final authority of the Mission. They would not be voting members of the Mission although they would be invited to sit as Corresponding Members at sessions of the Mission meeting when their work would be under consideration. In the covering letter to the Board it was said:

"The Mission has committed itself to the policy of employing more highly qualified Indians in our work and of giving them a more favorable status. It is the line of development that Missions must take if our work is to become indigenous. It is a fair complaint against us that we have been very slow and conservative in this matter." (93)

This case is all the more interesting because (arising as it has since the Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia) the resolution quoted in the introduction to this Chapter from the findings of the National Conference at Calcutta, was used in support of the request of the Mission. It is instructive to find that notwithstanding the seriousness of this request the Board in reply asked the Mission to "consider whether in their judgment it may not be possible to relate the service of the one in question to the native Church rather than to the foreign Mission." (83.1)

4. The American Board.

Consistent Refusal. The American Board has never appointed as missionary any Indian trained in this country or elsewhere. The nearest approach to this in any country is in the case of Mr. Neesima of Japan who was appointed to be an associate member of the Mission. (18) Dr. Rufus Anderson held very clear views with reference to this question and frequently stated that while the native pastor must be admitted to an Association or Presbytery with an equal vote, yet "into the Mission he cannot be received." (7.13) We will see in Chap-

ter VI to what a large extent Indians have been brought into the Mission as partial members.

5. The American Baptist Mission Society.

The Society Has Refused to Appoint Indians Direct. The American Baptist Mission Society also has so consistently refused to appoint as missionaries natives of any country in which it has work that requests for this rarely arise. (42.1) The Annual Conference of the Telegu Baptist Mission in 1911, "after careful consideration of the question of the employment of assistant missionaries" decided that the plan was unwise, which position was approved by the Executive Committee in Boston. (21.2)

Forty and fifty years ago we find repeated instances where the Board in Boston paid the traveling expenses back to Burma of natives who had been educated in this country, frequently with the stipulation that they should take up Mission service, but this is far different from direct employment by the Board. (21.3)

6. The Methodist Episcopal Church.

Experience of Appointments. The Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church has appointed several exceptionally strong Anglo-Indians as full missionaries. In some cases it has worked well, but in others it has created an unrest in the minds of fellow-workers leading them by some means or other to come to America

for a similar advancement. One talented young Indian lady on a visit to the United States was offered the status of full missionary, but she refused from fear of arousing jealousy amongst less favoured ones in India, and also lest it should create a false ideal for others. It was her deliberate conviction that it would be better for the women of India to maintain a separate position from that of the foreign missionaries. (107)

Home Missionaries. Realizing that the employment of highly trained and thoroughly capable Indians does raise a problem of status that cannot be brushed aside, the Board of Foreign Missions has in 1914 outlined a policy which has not yet been approved by the Missionary Bishops with reference to such men, especially those trained in foreign lands. It states that it is not advisable that appointment should be made directly by the Board, since such men can only find their greatest usefulness by being closely allied with the Indian Church, from which they have come and to which they should return without any taint of denationalization upon them. The Board, however, expresses vital interest in such young men and wishes to invite them to share in the leadership of the Christian movement in their own lands. The suggestion is that a class of Home Missionaries be created, with special regulations as to furlough, salary, retiring allowances, etc., appointment to which would be from the field.

7. Summary.

We have seen:

1. That while there are influences impelling the grant of full membership in the Mission to exceptional Indian leaders, there are principles with reference to the establishment of a self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating Church that make the granting of such membership unwise.

2. That missionaries on the field are in general more ready to grant equality of status to their Indian brethren than are the Societies at home.

3. That four out of the five Boards considered have never appointed an Indian as full member of a Mission; that the fifth Board, after experience in the few instances so granted, have drafted a policy in which they state the inadvisability of this procedure.

4. That there is a real problem in connection with the status of highly trained capable Indian workers which is being met by various Missions in various ways, other than by full membership in the Mission.

VI

PLANS OF DEVOLUTION BETWEEN MISSION AND CHURCH, EACH REMAINING DISTINCT.

THE problem of this Chapter may be stated thus: In what way historically have Mission and Church attempted to retain their separate identity with clear-cut distinction of function; and by what adjustments has devolution of powers and responsibilities under these circumstances been attempted?

In the detailed actions of the various Societies which follow three tendencies will be noticed, under one or the other of which each piece of legislation may be placed. The first tendency may be called Church-centric. While not going so far as to advocate the complete dissolution of a Mission, it yet attempts to turn over to the Church certain limited powers and responsibilities. It differs from the normal absorption by the Church of the functions of the Mission through growth in virility and self-supporting power in that the transfer is made for educative and developmental reasons; it is done to bring out capacity, rather than in response to capacity already developed.

The second tendency may be called Mission-centric. While not going to the extreme of making

Indians full members of the Mission, it yet by one method or another attaches them to the Mission for counsel or actual service in a way that places the center of gravity in thought and attitude in the foreign organization.

The third tendency is to establish a transitory organization. Both Church and Mission retain their integrity, but until the Church can normally assume all the functions of the Mission, and thus make possible its euthanasia, there is a midway organization to which large powers and responsibilities are given, starting under predominant Mission control and gradually coming under predominantly Indian control according to definitely stated rules.

We place the consideration of the Arcot and Madura Missions first since they will furnish the best base line for judging the extent of transfer of authority as found in other Missions. It is noteworthy that the Church Council system of Secretary Henry Venn had been in operation for thirty-five years in the Church Missionary Society, before Americans modeled any plan upon it, as was done by these two Missions in 1910.

1. The Reformed Church in America.

Foundation Work. The first thoroughgoing plan for the devolution of functions from Mission to Church appears in the Arcot Mission in 1910, when instead of the Mission and missionary having entire authority, Boards and Committees were established upon each of which Indians were in

the majority. Before examining this far-reaching endeavor to let the Indian Church share in the authority and responsibilities of administering Mission funds and work let us see what foundations had been laid; for no such change as that of 1910 can successfully be brought about merely by vote. There had been expectation and patient work for many years developing character and enlarging experience.

The beginnings of any formally organized devolution were very faint, and it is certainly instructive to note the contrast of the present with even the near past. Twenty years ago not a single church was self-supporting; there was not a single Indian church Treasurer, nor were Indians usually trusted even to get the bread and wine for Communion Services. (85.1) The "Fundamental Principles and Rules" of the Arcot Mission issued in 1895 contains only one reference to Indians, and this simply states that a committee of two missionaries and three native assistants shall be appointed annually to draw up the program for an annual Conference the object of which was the attainment of a higher spiritual life. (86.1) In the Proceedings of the Joint Commission which arranged for the formation of the South India United Church it is distinctly stated that no change in the financial arrangements of the Mission is contemplated nor any change in the management of Mission work as distinct from what is peculiarly the work of the Indian Church. (88)

In 1881 a Pastor's Aid Fund was established which has continued ever since. (80.4) But it was

especially during the decade preceding 1910 that there was very definite effort made by individual missionaries to give a large share of local control and responsibility to Indian Christians. Frequently mention was made of the development not only of self-support, but of self-government, showing that the minds of the missionaries were upon the problem of devolution (85.5) Many of the reports mention the Y. P. S. C. E. (started in the Arcot Mission about 1889) as being a pre-eminent agency in training the laity on the conduct of affairs (85.2)

The first instance of distinct transfer of responsibility took place as recently as 1908, when two Indian ministers were given semi-independent charge of certain evangelistic workers and territory. The next year independent charge of a Mission Hospital was given to an Indian Physician. (90.1)

Focusing on the Problem. The immediate occasion of the new and far-reaching measures of 1910 is to be found in a conference of missionaries and Indian Christians in 1908 the object of which was to consider means looking toward the transference of responsibility from the Mission to the native Church. Eight definite resolutions were passed, the preamble of which was as follows:

"*Whereas,* Until now the American Arcot Missionaries themselves have been responsible for evangelistic work, schools, and finances in the bounds of our congregations; but,

"*Whereas,* The time has come when the native congregations should undertake these responsibilities themselves, therefore" . . .

Amongst the resolutions which followed were recommendations that each church should take up the fullest responsibilities suited to its power; that a larger share of the raising and spending of church funds, of the direction of the church work, of discipline, and of evangelistic work should be given to the members of village congregations; and that a committee be appointed to study up the progress of self-support, self-government and self-propagation among native Christians in other countries (80.5)

The results of these resolutions and of the spirit back of them are seen in the reports for the next year. Of one church over a half a century old the report was made that it "for the first time to my knowledge has collected, kept and disbursed its own money amounting to about Rs.1000." Another church also over fifty years old, in which the pastor had carried the responsibility and had hitherto held the authority himself, erected a full Session of four Elders and four Deacons, and divided the work of the congregation among its members; furthermore the pastor was greatly relieved and encouraged, and the contributions increased. Statements such as the following occur in the reports of the next two years: "Nearly all the churches now practically manage their own affairs and the number of those wholly self-supporting is yearly increasing." "The movement towards self-government grows apace. Better business methods characterize both congregational and village affairs." (85.3)

It will be seen, therefore, that for some years a

process of definite education had been going on and that there had been response on the part of the people. The Arcot missionaries now desired to take an advance step; missionaries of other Churches, yet associated with the Arcot misionaries in the South India United Church, desired them to wait until some uniform plan of devolution could be promulgated throughout this entire body. But wise plans of devolution require care, detailed adjustment and intimate knowledge of men. The Arcot missionaries evidently felt this and decided that it was wiser to experiment with a plan in a smaller unit than the whole United Church. (91)

The Arcot Plan of Devolution. A representative Committee of three missionaries and nine Indians —five pastors and four laymen—were appointed to prepare a plan of co-operation by which the Church, though not able financially or morally to assume full responsibility and authority for all Mission work, might yet take the support and direction of Christian work in its territory. In due time their plan, somewhat modified, was adopted by Mission and Church, and passed into operation October, 1910.

The plan for this radical change in Mission administration is too long and detailed to be inserted here. However, as to organization it may be said that they arranged the 10,000 Christians within the bounds of the Arcot Mission into thirteen Pastorates, these Pastorates into four Circles, and these Circles into "The Board of the Indian Churches." It should be remembered that this was new machinery for the administration of

affairs formerly carried on by the Mission and was in addition to the ecclesiastical system of Classis, Synod and Assembly already in operation by the Church. For example, the Pastorate Committee, in personnel and field of labor, was almost identical with the church Session; but the former was the primary executive body for carrying on the work of the Board, while the Session was the primary ecclesiastical authority of the church. The Circle Committees (upon each of which there were only from one to three missionaries out of twenty members) assumed in general the authority and exercised the functions hitherto lying with the missionary alone. The Board (of which four or five out of twelve members were missionaries) assumed, in general, the authority and exercised the functions hitherto embodied in the Mission.

As to the work judged suitable to be transferred, the Mission gave over to the "Board of Indian Churches" and its subordinate Committees the direction of all Station and village churches, with the congregations and schools connected with them, and the direction of all catechists and teachers working in them. The Mission, however, was left with the supervision and control of the medical, industrial and higher educational work. But there was the intention of gradually transferring additional responsibility, either by decreasing the grant or by transferring some more of the work still carried on by the Mission.

To aid in financing the work thus turned over the Mission made a grant to the Board of a sum equal to the amount then being spent on the work

to be transferred. The magnitude of the interests involved may be judged from the fact that some two hundred Indian agents, one hundred and fifty schools, and over $14,000 passed under the control of the Board to which was added the contribution the Indians were able to give, i.e. $900. Checks and limitations of authority were of course provided. The Mission was the final source of appeal and it might disallow any rules or regulations out of harmony with its own rules and interests so long as it contributed one-half or more of the income of the Board. It was distinctly stated, however, that it was so to exercise this authority as to develop the self-governing and self-supporting ability of the Board. Furthermore of the twelve members of the Board four were elected by the Mission, and from these the Mission appointed three, to be the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Treasurer respectively. Upon this missionary Chairman great responsibility fell, for he might veto any action of the Circle Committees bearing upon the Board's work or rules. He might also call for the minutes of any Pastorate Committee and veto any action which seemed to him contrary to the best interests of the organization or out of harmony with the Arcot Mission rules and usages.

Greater detail cannot here be given regarding this plan, which is still in operation, but a sufficient outline has been given to indicate that in this scheme is found a serious attempt to devolve upon the Indian Church a large share of the work previously carried on by the Mission, while at the same time safeguarding that transfer.

An Estimate of Its Results. If we turn to the reports following 1910 (85.4) we may see how the system has worked in practice. At first the Indian representatives used their new prerogatives and powers timidly and hesitatingly and the lack of strong independent leadership was felt; but there was evidence of a fresh spirit in the work, of a new interest in economy and of greater effort for efficiency. Patient instruction in methods of administration and of keeping accounts had to be given, but in this as in other things there was from the first a growing conviction that leaders were being developed as never before. It is no small thing for the missionary Chairman to be able to report that a sum of some $20,000 is administered annually with economy and efficiency. It was possible the second year to give the Circle Committees a budget within which they were expected to keep their expenditures. Furthermore, as a result of experience in order to give a larger place to Indians, the Board was enlarged from twelve to sixteen. Anyone reading the last report on the work of the Indian Church Board will get the distinct impression that while things are not all simple and easy, while the Indian brethren have not in all cases measured up to the high standard coveted for them, while the machinery at times was felt to be a little cumbrous, yet there has been a definite change of attitude on the part of the Indians, a growing sense of responsibility and an educational process which with scientific certainty will develop trained leadership in the future.

2. The American Board.

The Madura Mission. We place next the discussion of plans of devolution between Mission and Church in the Madura Mission of the American Board because it affords a second example of a thoroughly worked out system. In the light of the "Indian Church Boards" of the Arcot Mission and the "District Conference" of the Madura Mission, one will be better able to judge of the extent of the transfer of authority as found in other Missions. We will first look at the steps which led up to and made possible the present Madura plan.

As early as 1888 the Madura Mission proposed a plan for selecting the best trained and most suitable men that were available to be "superintending catechists" in the larger Stations and in vacant Stations, their duties being confined to spiritual work. The Board, however, thought this might raise up a favored class amongst the mission agents and so made no grant for carrying the plan out. (17.8)

Representative Pastors. Six years later, however, in 1894 the plan of employing Representative Pastors was instituted. The Mission was divided into five groups of Stations and a pastor was appointed to each group. It was the duty of each of these Representatives to visit at Mission expense each congregation of the portion of the field he represented, study the problems and interests of his district, report at the Mission meeting and there enter into discussions. In this way it was hoped to develop a sense of responsibility among

the pastors, to give them a voice in the administration of affairs outside of their own churches, to establish closer relations between missionaries and pastors, and to gain a clearer perception of the needs of the people. (5.7)

The plan was improved with experience. In 1896 instead of the Mission selecting the pastors the choice was left to the local Church Unions. (3.9) It was found, however, that the post was taken as an honor to be passed around, so in order to get the best men it was decided in 1898 to have the choice made by the highest ecclesiastical body, the General Church Union. (3.12) In 1899 the Secretary of the Madura Mission wrote to the Board:

> "I am glad to say that this need of self-government is appreciated on both sides, and it seems so wise that we have elected two lay Representatives to sit with the pastors and ourselves in Mission business. Thus we shall have hereafter seven of our native brethren enjoying this honor and bearing this burden of responsibility." (19)

In 1903 they were invited to meet during certain sessions of both the January and the September meetings of the Mission. (3.13) In the sixteen years of its operation the plan undoubtedly did good. It was appreciated by the Indians; they were growing in their conception of the magnitude of the problems with which the Mission was confronted; they were learning that the funds of the Mission were not after all unlimited. In those years seventy-two subjects were discussed, many of them introduced by the representatives them-

selves, and many of the discussions led to important action. (17.9)

And yet this plan, while it may have been the best under the circumstances, and was undoubtedly a preparation for the larger scheme of devolution introduced in 1910, had nevertheless elements in it that could not make it permanently satisfactory to a self-respecting people. These pastors, originally selected by the Mission, were asked in to the Mission meeting at a given fixed session, the Mission decided on the subjects that were to come up (although the pastors could send in writing a month in advance any suggestions for topics), and all money matters were decided apart in Mission meeting. One can feel how absolutely centric and dominant the Mission was in such a plan.

Station Committees. Quite apart from the plan of Representative Pastors, another method of turning over responsibility to Indian Church members was started in a single station back in 1901 and was afterwards taken up by several others. According to it the administration of the various kinds of work of the Station was put largely in the hands of a committee composed of the Pastor and the more experienced catechists, thus giving them a sense of responsibility and a training for larger duties. (5.8) This was certainly on the right lines, but it was adopted only locally and the center of gravity was still in the missionary.

The District Conference. After twenty years of experiment with the increasing conviction that some more thoroughgoing plan of devolution was required, the Mission in 1910 inaugurated the

scheme of the District Conference. In this transfer of power from the Mission to the Church we find one of the most important and far-reaching events thus far in the history of these churches. An examination of the "Rules and Regulations of the District Conference of the Churches within the Bounds of the Madura Mission" will show that the "District Conference" in the Madura Mission and the "Board of Indian Churches" in the Arcot Mission have very much in common. In each the Mission has turned over charge of the evangelistic, pastoral and elementary education* work in its field, but not those departments which have to do with medical work, with institutions for training workers and higher education generally. In each the funds received from America for the conduct of this work has been placed in the hands of the new organization for administration. Each is composed of Indian pastors and laymen and a few missionaries, and in each a part of the members are representatives chosen by the churches and part are individuals appointed by the Mission.

Its Object. The object of the District Conference is officially thus stated:

"To provide an organization by which the churches shall control and carry on the work properly belonging to them, receiving aid, for the present, from the Madura Mission."

However, in the actual thought and practice of the system three objects may be distinguished.

*In the Madura plan this included the transfer of Hindu Girls' Schools in nine Stations and the work of Bible women in nine Stations.

The most obvious is that leadership may be developed in the Indian Church through the discharge of definite and much enlarged responsibility. The plan aims not only at the development of good generalship but the inspiration of the rank and file; it is an effort to enlist the lay membership in a partnership of service. Still a third end was the economy of funds and men in the administration of the Mission. By the new plan four out of nine missionaries were left entirely free from any direct responsibility for the expenditure of funds or the administration of work. Further by thus concentrating such work in the hands of the five others it was possible to employ competent Indian clerical assistance so that the serving of tables by the five missionary Chairmen of Circles was diminished rather than increased. This means a larger opportunity for direct and personal contact along specifically religious lines on the part of the missionary force. (5.12)

Its Organization. The seven thousand communicants were already organized in thirty-three pastorates. Pastorate Committees were organized in each of these. The thirty-three churches were grouped into five Circles, each with a Circle Committee. Over all was the District Conference. Here, too, as in the Arcot Missions all this was new machinery apart from the ecclesiastical system of the South India United Church.

The District Conference exercised jurisdiction over the whole district within the bounds of the Mission, in much the same way as the Mission had hitherto done, but only in matters pertaining to

evangelistic work and elementary education. In these it had the final word. In general those questions which have to do with the unification of the work as a whole or which have a relation wider than the bounds of a single Circle are reserved for settlement by the District Conference. The Circle Committees have been given very full powers; they exercise on the whole the functions hitherto exercised by the missionary. The Pastorate Committees through which the Circle Committees conduct their work are organized on the basis of the individual church.

The system contains careful provision for checks. The Mission votes on the annual estimates asked by the District Conference from the American Board, but in practice little revision is made. (20) The Conference, Circle, and Pastorate Committee Chairman have definitely specified veto power.

The Personnel of the System. To start with the District Conference consisted of nineteen Indians, and nine missionaries. (5.11) Two years later in 1912, there were thirty-five members, almost exactly a third were Indian pastors, one-third Indian laymen and one-third missionaries. The Constitution provides that the Chairman and Treasurer shall be appointed by the Mission; the Vice Chairman and Secretary shall be elected by the Conference. It will be noticed that while the Mission has the right to appoint certain members, there was nothing in the original constitution delimiting the class to which the members shall belong. They might all be missionaries, all be laymen or all be pastors. As far as the necessary inclusion

or exclusion of missionaries is concerned that statement still holds; but in 1912 special provision was made for lay representation. (5.13)

The Circle Committees are composed of certain *ex officio* members, viz., all pastors and missionaries (including wives) (3.14) within the bounds of the Circle and whose work is under the control of the Conference. There were also representatives elected from each Pastorate, and as many as three additional lay members chosen by the Mission. So long as a Circle receives more than half its support from the Mission, the Chairman of the Circle is appointed by the Mission.

In each Pastorate there is a Committee elected by the church or churches within the Pastorate, the pastor being the Chairman. To this body—in which the missionary has membership only by election—very considerable powers are given in the way of supervision and general administration under the direction of the Circle Committee.

Difficulties and Adjustment. A plan as elaborate and far reaching as this naturally could not be perfect from the start. Its very complexity led to a certain loss in individual power. As an outstanding administrative agency it was apt to overshadow the ecclesiastical system, and there was a tendency to encroach on the ecclesiastical domain of the two Church Councils. (20) There was also the danger that official processes and clerical routine might stop the springs of spiritual dynamic. (5.12) In a few instances misunderstandings developed between individuals as to authority and rights, since

necessity might compel a Chairman to act before consultation with the Committee could be secured. Some found difficulty in abiding by the voice of the majority, while some few were inclined to utilize the very complexity of the scheme for ulterior purposes. A few pastors found that added responsibilities and authority brought possibilities of encountering opposition and jealousies before unknown. (5.13) Some felt that the plan overrode the autonomy of the local church by demanding that all funds be paid into the treasury of the Circles instead of that of the local church. These things simply meant that the novelty and enthusiasm of a new undertaking had worn off, and that it was really being tested.

The plan, however, is being gradually adjusted to these needs. One of the most significant changes was made in 1912 as a result of the fear that powers were being devolved not to the Indian Church but merely to the clergy of that Church. Laymen to start with were in a very small minority. It was felt that with India's previous history before them, it would be unwise for the Mission to turn things over to a new religious hierarchy, and so amendments to the rules were made to meet this weakness in the system. It was arranged that two representatives on the District Conference instead of one should be elected by each of the Circle Committees, and that these should be alternately a pastor and a layman. As a matter of fact there are not many laymen prepared to assume this responsibility, but it was felt that this provision for them in the constitution might hasten the day

when they would be fit for such membership. The revised constitution provides for about equal representation for each of the three classes—pastors, laymen and missionaries. (5.13)

Results of Experience. After three years of experience it could be said that there had been real progress in the central idea of the scheme, viz., the distribution of authority and power among a number of members of a committee instead of its being exercised by an individual, and the gradual transference of authority in Mission affairs from the Missionary to Indian brethren. (1.12) Some have noticed a decrease in the feeling that in making contributions they were in some way giving to a foreign and very wealthy Mission. (5.9) The emphasis has shifted from the idea of being a hireling to that of the owner. One can see the result of this personal interest and enlarged responsibility in the increasing proportion of Indian funds to foreign funds. (128.5)

To the surprise of many one of the five Circles was found at the beginning of the second year to have earned the privilege of having its chairman elected not by the Mission but by the District Conference, since counting not only the contributions of the churches but the fees of the elementary schools, considerably more than half its income came from non-Mission sources. The missionary Chairman of course resigned when this was discovered; it is interesting that the Conference (to which under the circumstances the right of appointment went) re-elected him. (5.12)

The following are extracts from the reports of

two of the five Circle Chairmen (missionaries) for 1913:

"I am able to realize its excellence as never before. After carrying the heavy responsibilities of one, sometimes two and once of three stations, with not a pastor to relieve me during thirty years, it is a blessed relief to pass those responsibilities largely over to the Pastorate Committee and devote my time to evangelistic work. Making repairs, engaging workers, raising wages, settling quarrels—all such is done by committee now and not by the individual missionary, as formerly. It would not be surprising if some mistake were made in the beginning in this new enterprise. I am astonished there are so few. I am delighted to find the utmost good feeling between the pastor (who is the leading spirit in the Committee) and the missionary. All stand ready to do their duty and a most delightful spirit of harmony prevails. It is a joy to work with them." (5.14)

"The work of the Circle has gone on happily and progressively. We have had our encouragements, and have had discouraging problems to meet and solve. Under the new plan of working the men feel their responsibility, as they did not under the earlier method. Working under the definitely limited figures of a budget is not as easy as looking to the missionary for the supply of every need. But there are compensations, too, and the necessity of bringing into service every possible source of income, and of enlisting each person in the endeavor to do his utmost, is making itself felt." (5.15)

A Radical Step at Simplification. It has been pointed out that the formation of the District Conference system added to Mission and Church a third organization with its new machinery. In January, 1915, the non-ecclesiastical District Conference

was amalgamated with the Church Councils of the South India United Church to form one organization something like a Synod, and holding its meetings in two sessions: (a) the Ministerial Session composed of the officers of the Church Council, *ex officio,* and all ordained ministers and missionaries whose work is in connection with the South India United Church. Its functions are to review the work of its ministers, to satisfy itself regarding their theology and moral character, hear appeals, discipline pastors and arrange a pastor's course of reading; (b) the General Session to be constituted as the present District Conference with certain ecclesiastical power then held by the Church Councils added.*

The Marathi Mission. There can be no doubt in the mind of anyone reading the Minutes and Reports of the Marathi Mission of the American Board that very conscious efforts have been made during the past two decades to turn over an increasing amount of responsibility to Indian Christians. In Chapter III we described the formation of the General and Local *Aikyas* to which ecclesiastical functions had to a large extent devolved. On the administrative side, there has been very little legislation looking toward the performance of the functions of the Mission by these Church Unions. Practically all of their definite effort at administrative devolution is of the Mission-centric type. Two outstanding lines of devolution have engaged the thought and experimentation of the Marathi Mission: (a) the placing of responsible Mission work

*Minutes of the District Conference, January 13th, 1915.

(viz., schools and districts) in the largely independent management of individuals or committees; (b) the introduction of Indians for training and counsel to a share in the administrative and legislative functions of the Mission.

Indians in Charge of Districts. The first type of devolution—giving posts of responsibility in Mission work to Indians—has to a marked extent characterized the Marathi Mission during the past twenty-five years. It is perfectly plain that their policy has been to place responsibility on the Indian Christians whenever their fitness made this possible. One of their Mission "Regulations" reads: "It is very desirable to study how to place more and more responsibility on Indian Christians, in order to give more time to missionaries for other work." (8.2) In asking in 1897 for a Deputation to be sent to India one of the five points mentioned for consideration was "the amount of responsibility to be placed on Indian Agents." (2.8) The Mission has had a succession of able and devoted Indian workers, both men and women, who have borne responsibility well, so that it has been possible for them to carry out their purpose in several different ways.

In 1892 two districts were placed each under the charge of an Indian leader, and the work was organized as a "Branch" of the Mission with a Constitution and By-laws of its own. The relation of this Branch to the Marathi Mission was, in general, the same as that of the Mission to the Prudential Committee in America. (2.9)

Other instances of entrusting large districts to

Indians may be found in those earlier years. (4.8) But especially during the last twelve years do the Minutes and Reports of the Mission show instances where four or five well-trained, educated Indian workers have been in charge of Districts, (1.9) sometimes with twenty men under them (2.12), sometimes taking the place of a missionary on furlough (4.9), and frequently accountable, as any missionary would be, not to an individual, but to the Mission as a whole. (16.7) The result of experience in permitting such men to carry on the work of the Mission with practically as much freedom and responsibility as a missionary was formulated in 1909 in the declaration that

"it shall be our policy that, of paid Indian Christian fellow-workers, those who are most advanced in education and capacity shall have their relations directly with the Mission as a whole and shall not be considered subordinates to individual missionaries." (2.14)

In 1904 one district was placed in the hands of a committee chosen by the Indian workers to whom were referred most of the details of the working of the district, and the missionary in charge felt that its advice was worth a great deal in the proper management of the district. (4.11)

In 1912 a Special Committee of the Mission could report that in almost every district there were Indian leaders with the actual position or at least with many of the responsibilities of assistant missionaries. The report definitely stated that the Mission was looking forward to a steady increase in the dignity and salary of these central positions. (2.15)

Devolution in Educational Work. Not only have Districts been placed in the hands of Indians, but isolated instances are found of entrusting committees of Indians with definite school responsibility. In 1892 the Mission asked the Christian teachers of one of the High Schools to form a committee and to assume largely the responsibility that had fallen upon the Principal of the School. (2.23) Of much greater actual significance was the important step taken by the Joint Sessions in 1910 in placing all the school and other work in one district in the hands of a committee of four Indians with a missionary and his wife as advisory members. This committee was given responsibility for raising funds; for expending the Mission's appropriation for that district, the Government grant and other funds. (4.12) This arrangement worked so well that the next year another district was similarly placed under a committee of five Indians with a missionary Counsellor. (2.25)

Missionary Counsellor. It will be noticed that in the case of the last two committees, each had a missionary "Counsellor" appointed. The same practice had been adopted in the case of certain young men who had been educated in America, and to whom the charge of responsible work had been given. It was felt that their status should be different from that of the ordinary agent who comes under the control of an individual missionary. For such cases the following general principle was passed:

"The Marathi Mission earnestly desires to make Indian Christian leaders feel that they shall have an

honorable place as fellow-workers in this Mission. Those who are deemed worthy of having their relation with the Mission direct shall not be subordinate to individual missionaries. Their plans and work like that of foreign missionaries shall be decided by the Mission and by the Station with which they are connected. Their pecuniary relations, like those of foreign missionaries, shall be with the Mission Treasurer and Finance Committee. Newly arrived foreign missionaries have a senior missionary appointed as a counsellor; so Indian Christian fellow-workers whose relations are with the Mission direct shall have an acceptable missionary counsellor for five years to aid them." (2.26)

A second type of devolution which stands out in the Marathi Mission is the introduction of Indians into the counsels of the annual Mission meeting. At first individuals were made consultative members; later Joint Conferences with Indians were arranged. These in their more perfected form still exist under the name of Joint Sessions. In 1889 a motion was passed that one agent from each mission district and a few other leading Indian Christians be invited to meet with the Mission in one or more of its sessions, to give their opinion in the consideration of the work of the Mission agents, and other matters in which their opinion might be helpful. (2.16) This plan was never carried out systematically and had to wait twenty years to be organized in practical form. One Indian sat as consultative member in the Mission in 1892 and a second was added in 1896. (2.17)

In 1905 as a result of a growing sense of need for consultation with the best Indian leaders, the Mission resolved to hold an Annual Conference,

of which all the following would be *ex officio* members, missionaries, Indian Christian leaders in independent charge of important work, the President and Secretary of the Church Union, three pastors of certain named churches, and also by choice of the Mission certain leading Christians who were not Mission agents. This Conference was to be advisory to various Christian organizations. This Conference met for the first time in 1906 and was the means of making suggestions both to the Mission and to the Church Union, and a constitution was drafted for it. (2.18)

Joint Sessions. A further step in the development of plans for introducing Indian counsel into the administration of Mission work came in 1910 when a still more definite plan was introduced called the "Joint Sessions." Two or more sessions of the Mission were annually held in which Indian representatives have full powers of discussion, making motions and voting with the missionaries. Of the ten Indian representatives the Mission chose four while the rest were selected by the local Church Unions or Indian workers. A distinct effort was made to secure the representation of intelligent layman not employed by the Mission. In 1912 the selection of all delegates was left to the Indian Church Unions or other bodies from which they came. In April, 1914, three Indian ladies were amongst the nine delegates. (2.19)

These Sessions have been pronounced profitable and helpful both to Indians and Americans, and several important measures have been debated and carried through in them, such as giving over certain

districts to Indian workers, the rates of pay for teachers, a Provident Fund, etc. Such subjects as the following have been taken up: petitions, employment or dismissal of agents, church problems, educational problems (such as parents' responsibilities and rights, proper fees, etc.) evangelistic work,—in fact any subject except personal matters affecting foreign missionaries. (2.21)

After several years of trial the Mission in October, 1914, adopted a Constitution for the Joint Sessions. The objects, as stated, were that Indian Christian leader shall take a larger and larger part in considering and settling questions affecting the work of the Mission and the development of Christ's Kingdom; and that these Indian leaders may powerfully influence their Christian community. The members of the Joint Sessions shall be all the members of the American Marathi Mission; representatives annually chosen for membership by Indian Christian organizations connected with this Mission, viz., two members from the General Church Union; one member from each District Union; Indian Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Mission districts; one representative of the Bombay Church; and additional Indian Christian leaders selected annually by the Mission. All members, American and Indian, shall have equal rights of discussion and vote. A meeting shall be held annually in connection with the autumn meeting of the Mission. (2.22)

Indians on Mission Committees. In 1914 the Mission resolved that its educational Committee should have on it four Indians as well as five mis-

sionaries, and that it should meet at the same time as the Mission and as much oftener as was necessary. (2.22) A very significant step was taken in April 1914, appointing a Committee of five Indian ministers, one Indian layman and four missionaries "to consider the relation of the Indian Church and Indian Christian leaders to the Mission with a view to a larger gradual devolution of responsibility from foreign to Indian co-workers." (2.11)

Station Conferences. One of the regulations of the Marathi Mission declares that it is very desirable in every station to have a committee consisting of missionaries and Indian Christians, both to plan for work and to raise and use moneys; but it is to be definitely understood that the appropriations of the Board are still in the hands of the missionaries. (8.2) The custom of holding such Station Conferences has grown up within the past few years. One missionary writing in 1912 of such a Conference says:

> "Hitherto it has considered only matters of general interest to the progress of the country and its resolutions, few in number, have not been binding. It is felt now, however, that the body should have more authority, and it looks as if this would be brought about and therefore the efficiency of the organization increased." (1.11)

3. The American Baptist Mission Society.

Indian Agents. While, as was seen in Chapter V, no Indians are appointed directly by the Board, an average of about ten Indian workers per missionary is employed on the field. In the days before

1859 when there were still organized Missions under the Baptist Society higher Indian agents were employed by the Mission as such. This was made a definite Regulation of the Board of Managers as early as 1836 directing that no one should be reported as an assistant of the Mission who had not been examined and approved by the Mission, and that "all who are employed as assistants shall be distinctly apprised that they are in the service of the Board and accountable thereto for the faithful discharge of their duties." (46.9)

The Baptist Deputation to Burma in 1853 in advising the Mission took it "for granted that an assistant's appointment would be made by the Mission with which he is connected and not by an individual of the Mission," and declared that the general supervision of Indian Assistants should be exercised by the Mission. (46.11) But Regulations and Deputations cannot always instill practices which, however educatively wise, do not easily spring from actual conditions. We get an interesting side light on how centric missionaries remained in the system, even under such guidance, by glancing at the Mission literature of that time. For example, a prominent Burman missionary (in that long discussion from 1855-59 as to the relation of Baptist missionaries to the home Society) met the arguments of those who objected to the exercise of home authority as ecclesiastically wrong, by saying:

"These same men, however, send out native ministers to preach without consulting their own missionary associates—they hold those whom they thus send in

the relation of 'employees'—they fix their salaries, direct them where to labor, what kind of labor to perform, as preaching, teaching school, or both; and dismiss them for unfaithfulness or sin. . . . Did it ever once occur to them that the native preacher might feel himself degraded by this relation to the foreign missionary? Did it ever occur to them that it would not be too much to concede to the native preacher in their employ an equal voice with themselves as to what he should do and where he should labor?" (46.8)

All the more has the individual missionary been centric in the administration of the work done by the Indian agents since the abolishment of the Missions. He it is who employs and dismisses men.

Indians in Charge of Stations. The Executive Committee of the Society, especially during the last decade, has been emphasizing the advisability of transfer of more responsibility to Indians. The following resolution passed by the Executive Committee in 1908 is typical of many: "Resolved that the Conference (Telegu) shall be apprised of the vital importance and necessity attached by the Committee to definite, practical efforts in the transfer of larger responsibilities to the native body." (21.5)

Amongst their specific suggestions to the Telegu Mission one was that during the furlough of missionaries Indians should be placed in control of Indians. (24.5) The Telegu Mission Conference voted that in its opinion "the time had not come when this course could be safely pursued in this mission." (28.1) With reference to this decision the home authorities voted:

"That the Executive Committee desire to emphasize their sense of the vital importance of the policy indi-

cated and the wisdom of planning in anticipation of approaching furloughs for the development of groups of native brethren at the principal stations—with whom responsibility for conduct of the work with such oversight as a missionary can give in occasional visits, may be left." (21.4)

The reply given by the Telegu Conference in 1907 deserves careful consideration, both from their judgment as to conditions in their field and as to the principles involved in this particular type of devolution. We therefore give it in full as follows:

"Native Assistants in charge of Stations. This question was presented as having vital relation to the development of the church and the Christian community. Every missionary in charge of a station gave his opinion on the subject. Only one thinks that native assistants may be put in charge of stations as a temporary measure under the supervision of a neighboring missionary. The entire remaining number are opposed to such a measure. The reasons given may be classified as follows:

1. Lack of qualifications. The work of a mission station covers a wide range of activities, such as the careful expenditure and accurate accounting for sums of money, large from the Indian point of view; the exercise of some measure of authority over those receiving mission pay; the leadership of evangelistic campaigns; the planning of Christian work among tens of thousands of population; the oversight of educational work which often taxes experienced missionaries; and multitudinous other burdens which call for carefulness, impartiality, leadership and judgment, to an extent that is not yet to be found among our Christians. With important churches searching for pastors who can successfully manage the affairs of the individual churches, and with a very limited number of such men available, it is useless at present to think of finding men to take charge of mission stations.

2. Temptations. The strength and insidiousness of these temptations can scarcely be realized by one not personally acquainted with Indian life. The ones to which special attention is called in the various reports are: (a) Pride. This has destroyed the usefulness of many an Indian Brother who has been given a much less position. (b) Love of authority, and partial and arbitrary use of authority. (c) Jealousy and lack of respect on the part of others. (d) Misuse of money. This last is one of the most serious of the temptations named. The matter of guarding and administering the small amounts coming into the hands of church treasurers is one of the greatest problems of detail in the organization of Telegu churches. What then would be the result where large amounts are involved? There is usually no intention of misappropriation of funds, at least at first. The temptation is to invest trust funds for personal ends. Not only does the one in charge have to meet this temptation within himself, but the demands for loans, advances, and special concessions would be so incessant and imperative that no ordinary man could stand against them. Moreover these demands would by no means be limited to Christians. Non-Christian men of influence and authority would demand considerations in such a way that the one in charge of the funds would scarcely escape. This matter makes the severest test of a missionary's stamini, and it would be little less than criminal to put the Indian brethren into such temptations.

3. Some of the missionaries have put this question to leaders in the native Church, men who would be the first ones considered for such positions, and the answer in every case has been most emphatic that none of them would care to undertake such burdens, and that the workers and Christians in any field would object to having one of their number placed in the position of missionary over them.

4. The above objections are those which time might remove, but the most emphatic objections are to the

effect that the plan of native agents in charge of stations presents a wrong ideal, and is something which should not be considered an object to be attained. One says: 'We are not here to train missionaries. Pastors, evangelists and teachers, and missionaries sent and supported by their own people is what we should aim at.' Another says: 'When our Christians have learned to run their own churches, and to manage properly the work they already have in hand, then we can talk about stations. The very existence of stations does not seem normal to me. When the Christians can do the work there will be no missionaries and no stations. In the meantime we can magnify the native assistant by putting more responsibility on him in the form of church work.'" (26.5)

Station Committees. In general the way in which funds may be expended for evangelistic work is left to the individual missionary, and in general no formally organized plans have been made for sharing this responsibility with the Telegus, although of course no action seriously affecting them is taken without informal consultation. However, in one Station a plan was adopted in 1907 that has attracted some attention and which there is a tendency to follow. A constitution was adopted for the "Nellore Station Committee." Its members were missionaries, wives and appointees of the Women's Society and other associate workers who should be elected by the unanimous vote of the committee. Its object was consultation in all matters pertaining to the work in the Nellore field. (32.1)

Board of Arbitration. Until very recently the individual missionary was the final authority (except as advised by his fellow-missionaries) in all

matters connected with the employment and dismissal of agents. This power has often been the source of trouble and of a sense of injustice on the part of Indians. In 1911 the Telegu Baptist Conference passed the following resolutions:

"Voted; that a Panchayat be constituted for the purpose of considering differences that may arise between our Indian brethren and the missionaries or the Mission or the Board, and which cannot properly be brought before the Reference Committee, the church, or any other existing body; that it shall consist of three missionaries appointed by the Conference and two Indian brethren appointed by the Telegu Convention; that the Panchayat take into consideration any such matter committed to it by any missionary or Indian Christian or worker, or by the Conference, or Reference Committee, or the Board of Managers. The Board shall also have the right to consult the missionary members in matters that affect the missionaries alone." (26.4)

As a matter of fact only one case was brought before this Board in 1912, and only one case in 1913, but to the extent that it is needed and used it gives to Indians a share in deciding appeals that may be made.

The Assam Mission in 1911 followed the example of the Telegu Mission in creating such a Board, but in their Minutes of 1913 we find that the opinion of their Conference by vote was "that a Committee on Adjudication is not needed." (30.1) The Burman Mission in 1913 met the same question by resolving that "differences between a native brother or native church and a missionary may be referred to the Reference Committee" of

the Mission (in which there is no Burman). (29.1) All these actions show a tendency to take the point of view and rights of Indians more into consideration and are steps in that slow process of mental and institutional adjustment which is summed up in the word devolution.

Devolution in Educational Work. While there is no definite agreement between the Mission and the Church, yet Telegus are represented at present on the Educational Council of the Telegu field. The functions of this body include such things as the direction of all secondary schools of the Mission and training institutions; the employing and dismissing of teachers, fixing grades of salary, adopting courses of study, selection of text books, prescribing fees, etc. Two of the nine members are nominated by the Telegu Baptist Convention (native) and the nominations are confirmed by the Board of Managers in America.

In Burma the Mission has been relieved of a far larger burden in education than has been possible amongst the Telegus. The Educational Commission of the American Baptist Burman Mission in 1908 reported that the Karen village schools are entirely supported by the people themselves, with the aid of the Government grants, and are also entirely controlled by the people themselves under the supervision of the Educational Department. The relation of the missionary to these schools is nominal, or at most advisory. The large Karen town schools are in most cases supported by the people. Missionaries being superintendents of these schools have a large voice in determining

their policy; but the final word in regard to these schools also rests with the people. Village schools are closely related to the churches, when there is any church in the village, and there is a decided preponderance of opinion in the Mission that the relation should be organic wherever practicable. In the Karen department, this is generally the case; but in the Burman department, many of the most experienced missionaries regard such organic connection as impracticable. (31.1)

Attitude of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee of the American Baptist Mission Society have encouraged their missionaries by many actions and pronouncements of opinion in taking aggressive steps to share reponsibility to a greater extent with Indians. This is seen in the suggestion made by the Executive Committee to the Burman Mission Conference in 1913, viz., that they consider the advisability of adding native members to the committee in charge of general evangelistic work, or the appointment by the Baptist Convention of a Committee who might cooperate with the Evangelistic Committee of the Mission Conference. (25.1)

A very clear statement of principle with reference to whether the interests of the Mission or of the indigenous bodies should be determinative in the Mission policy was made by the Board of Managers to the Telegu Mission in 1913. Discussing the problem as to whether an expansive or intensive program would prove best, the Board said that even if its income could be geometrically multiplied so as to keep up with the growing needs

on the field such expansion might not be the wisest solution. "A true consideration of the interests of the people for whom missionary work is conducted as well as of those who support the work would seem to indicate that the available resources ought to be so invested that they will multiply themselves by creating, setting in motion and directing indigenous forces which in the end will prove far more effective for the accomplishment of the real task than an indefinite increase of agencies from without." (24.4)

4. The Presbyterian Church in U. S. A.

Limited Transfer of Work to Presbytery in Panjab Mission. We have seen in Chapter IV that from 1872 on for over twenty years there was a definite effort being made in the Panjab Mission to dissolve the Mission and have all its functions taken over by the Presbytery. Although this extreme measure failed to be accomplished, the tendency has continued ever since, and is shown in occasional, isolated legislation apparently apart from any large thoroughgoing policy of devolution.

One of the first examples of this tendency appears in 1887. In discussing a docket item,—"Will the Mission decide what churches within its bounds shall receive aid from the Board?"—the Mission resolved to refer the matter to the Presbyteries. This detail however came to nothing as the Presbyteries took no notice of it. (52.13)

The next year (1888) the docket item—"Shall the location of native preachers employed by the

Mission be under the charge of Presbyteries?"—was answered in the negative. (52.14)

The most definite step that the Mission has taken in the way of turning over its responsibility to the Presbytery is the following action of 1908:

"All District-workers in Class IV are to be employed in the Mission only on being recommended by the Presbytery. An individual Missionary may employ a man on trial, but in order that the appointment may be confirmed by the Mission the man thus employed should be placed under the care of the Presbytery at its next meeting. The Presbyteries are responsible for the oversight of all evangelistic agents in the districts, working within their respective bounds in the matter of their faithfulness and efficiency and are to make such representations to the Mission as they may at any time deem fit. Missionaries in charge of districts may suspend evangelistic agents and during the time of their suspension they shall be entitled to half pay for a period of not less than two months. But the matter must be presented to Presbytery and to the Mission at the first regular opportunity. If the suspension be sustained by either Presbytery or the Mission the employee shall be entitled to the back pay due him. When a man has been suspended or dismissed no Missionary or Committee shall have authority to re-employ him in Mission service without the sanction of Presbytery and Mission." (52.15)

This involved the attendance of Mission Agents at Presbytery. In consenting to meet the traveling expenses of such Agents, the Board of Foreign Missions suggested to the Mission "the desirability of so guarding such expenditure as not to encourage dependence upon the Mission and to discourage the growth of self-support in the Native Church." (49.9) In 1910 the two Presbyteries

within the bounds of the Mission requested to have "a share in recommending to the Mission increase of salaries for Mission employees." The Mission resolved that it did "not wish to bind itself to consult Presbyteries" in this regard. (52.16) Further adjustments have had to be made (52.17) and in practice the plan seems to lack life and reality. It can only be considered as partial and on trial.

Indians taken into Consultative Relations with Mission. In 1906 the Panjab Mission reorganized its work under four Departments or Boards for District Work, Boys' Schools, Girls' Schools and Medical Work respectively. (52.18) The District Work Committee was the first to ask that Indian fellow-workers join with them in their deliberations. The Committee report of 1908 testifies as follows:

"Among the many benefits which have resulted from the establishment of the District Work Committee, by no means the least is this, that it is helping toward a unification of plans and efforts on the part of Missionaries and Indian workers, bringing them into closer touch with each other, so that there shall be no longer so many isolated workers scattered over a large field, but an aggressive and effective company, working hand in hand, and shoulder to shoulder. We have learned that there are many things which we can teach one another, help one another, inspire one another; that the most effectual work is team-work, and that it is by uniting our efforts, concentrating them all upon one and the same object, that we can accomplish most." (52.19)

Five years later, on the basis of this experience, and after the Allahabad Conference of the three

Presbyterian Missions (to which reference is made at the end of this Chapter), the Mission resolved that to each Departmental Committee might be added selected Indian workers. These workers were to be ones "who by reason of their gifts, character and qualifications are judged worthy to serve on a Committee, and are engaged in work under the direction of the Committee." They were to be elected by the Mission on nomination from a Departmental Committee and were to be given the privileges of full membership, including the right of voting on all questions, in the Committees to which they had been elected. The traveling expenses of such Indian members to and from the place of meeting must be paid by the Institutions or Stations to which they belong. (52.21) The same year (1913) seven Indians were given such membership in the District Work Committee, four in the Boys' School Committee, and three in the Girls' School Committee. (52.22)

Indians in Independent Charge. For many years in the Panjab Mission there have been three Indians to whom has been given independent charge of the districts to which they have been assigned, i. e., they report just as do other missionaries to the Mission and not to an individual missionary. They are given as much freedom in the conduct of their work and in the use of their funds as has any missionary. But these instances are not part of a definite system to which others may appeal.

Devolution in Education. In the beginning teachers, like other Indian agents, were under the control of individual missionaries. The first step

toward their more adequate recognition has always been to make their appointment or dismissal depend on the will of the Mission rather than on that of an individual. In 1898 the Panjab Mission resolved that it alone should have the authority to increase or diminish salaries of teachers and recognized the right of appeal in case it was felt that any individual missionary had violated any of the rights of an Indian teacher. (52.23) Fifteen years later arrangements were made that an Indian might have a voice in the dismissing body. The resolution was that no Christian teacher drawing more than Rs. 20 per mensem should be dismissed by the Principal or Manager of the School without the sanction of the officers of the Boys' Schools Committee, acting with a Christian Head-master selected by the five Head-masters in the service of the Mission. (52.25)

In 1909 the principle was definitely enunciated that in any case where desirable in the eyes of the Mission, the entire management of any High School be put into the hands of the Head-master who will then become the Manager and correspondent of the School and be directly responsible to the Mission. (52.24) This has never been carried out.

Limited Transfer of Work to the Presbytery in the North India Mission. In 1901 the North India Mission took action providing for joint superintendence of evangelistic Agents, the Presbytery being made responsible for the oversight of such Agents in the matter of their faithfulness and efficiency and the Mission retaining oversight in other regards. The

Mission was also to defray the expenses of such Agents to meetings of Presbytery when required. The Board of Foreign Missions in New York allowed this, but expressed some concern inasmuch as a distinction was introduced between men and women employed as evangelists. Moreover they felt that divided responsibility might lead to inefficiency, and it seemed to them doubtful wisdom to increase the authority of the Indian Church without a compensating increase of responsibility in self-support. (49.11)

In 1907 the North India Mission asked the Presbyteries to examine candidates for the Scripture Reader Grade "on the degree of secular knowledge of the candidate in addition to their report on character and Scripture knowledge, and that exceptions to the rule on this account rest with the Mission." It was also arranged that the Presbyteries should examine workers every second year, instead of every year, and that written reports should be given for the intervening years. (53.1)

Attempt to Arrange for Indians in Charge of Districts. The North India Mission has along with practically all other Missions felt the need of making some provision for the more highly trained and qualified Indian worker. In 1909 they appointed a committee to prepare a plan "with reference to opening the way for placing Indian graduate evangelists in charge of districts." As a result the Board was urged to grant $3250 for three houses in the district.

"We urge these estimates because we anticipate additional Indian missionaries of high standard. Educated

Indians hesitate to enter Mission service in the evangelistic class because they do not see any likelihood of being put in independent charge of work because they are not needed in the central Stations and because there are no available houses in the district suitable as residences. We are convinced that Indian evangelists should after due testing be put in charge of districts or sections thereof. If we begin by providing houses for such men in special fields, we believe that this foresight will be used as one of the means for inducing such men to enter Christian service under the Mission." (53.2)

The Western India Mission. The sources available reveal almost no attempts at devolution in the Western India Mission until the Conference with the Board Secretary in 1913, to which attention is soon to be called. We find here and there an isolated resolution; for example, in 1897 the Mission adopted rules requiring that workers in the various grades and classes should be examined by a committee of Presbytery in Biblical and Theological subjects, general experience in preaching and ability to preach. (54.2) About the same time some very good principles were laid down on self-support (54.3), but these do not come within the scope of this study. Time and strength do not appear to have been given to problems of devolution.

In their separate Conference with the Board's Secretary in 1912 resolutions were passed bearing upon the general subject of adjustment of relations between Mission and Church. Several of these have already been noticed. One which bears on the problem of this Chapter reads:

"That while it would not be wise for the Indian

brethren to be full members of the Mission, it might well be considered if they could not be brought into some advisory and consultative relation to the Mission, that they might be strengthened by feeling that the Mission was dependent upon them." (68.2)

They also had a share in the larger Conference which is now to be considered.

Recommendations Resulting from the Conference at Allahabad. In the Conference of the three Presbyterian Missions in India in February, 1913, a very definite set of proposals was drawn up constituting more of a policy with reference to the subject of devolution than any of the Presbyterian Missions had heretofore had. We have already considered three of these resolutions. The others pertain to the subject of this Chapter.

The following resolution names a definite attainment on the part of the Church upon the reaching of which the Mission will turn over to the Presbytery the supervision of evangelistic work. It reads:

"The Presbytery should supervise the evangelistic work within its bounds without control of the mission or council, provided half the evangelistic force and three-fourths of the pastors are supported by the churches of the Presbytery, subject to the conditions of grant-in-aid which the mission, Council or Board may lay down." (69.3)

Now this undoubtedly provides a goal toward which the Church may work, but looking at the conditions it must be considered a very distant one. When after three-quarters of a century's work in their oldest Mission only six churches out of

twenty-six are self-supporting the setting of the standard at three-fourths will not mean any very rapid application of this rule unless there is an unusual response to the call to self-support. At present the first condition also is far from being realized. (55.1) In the meantime the co-operation of Presbyteries in the work of the Mission is limited to the actions of the Western India, North India and Panjab Missions in 1897, 1901 and 1908 respectively.

We give the second set of resolutions of this Conference in full. It will be noticed that they are Mission-centric.

"As a measure looking toward the drawing into the management and control of the work of our Missions and Church the sympathy and practical help of the stronger and more devoted of the members of the Indian Christian community, we suggest the adoption of the following plan:

(1) Let each Mission organize itself into departments or boards such as, one for district work, one for boys' schools, one for girls' schools, another for medical work, etc., after the method now in more or less successful operation in the Panjab Mission.

(2) On these boards or departments there should be appointed selected Indian workers, and to them should be given all the privileges of full membership.

In this capacity these brethren will be in a position to become familiar with the work of administration, giving meanwhile most valuable aid.

We believe this plan will result in the positive preparation of a considerable number of Indian brethren for the time when the pastoral, evangelistic and other work of the Missions may be taken over in whole or in part by the several Presbyteries of our Church in India." (69.3)

As we have seen, the Panjab Mission has already put these resolutions into practice by adding Indians to three of their four Boards.

The present situation, the ends desired, as well as the earnest spirit in which the Missions faced their problem, is indicated in the explanatory statement affixed to the complete set of resolutions.

"We believe that acceptance by the Board of the principles and policy thus outlined, and their sympathetic application by the Missions and Council will more and more encourage young men of education and spiritual gifts to enter the ministry and prepare them for leadership in the Church. We recognize that there are difficulties in transferring the evangelistic work carried on by the Mission to the Presbyteries. One is that many of the ministers and elders are on the evangelistic staff of the Mission. To transfer the evangelistic grant to a Presbytery whose members draw their salaries from this fund, they, as its administrators, having power to increase or decrease one another's salaries and allowances, would be to create discord and divisions. . . .

"Through the patient and sympathetic application of the principles and policy outlined above, the wall of distinction between the Indian and foreign labourers built largely by the present policy will be broken down with the Church. Positions of trust, responsibility and honour will, by the proposed policy, be given to the members of Presbytery, session and church by their fellow-members irrespective of their nationality. The diverse gifts of the nationalities in the Church will thus find a field for their exercise." . . . (69.3)

The Point at Which the Board Would Have Co-operation Begin. The Board in New York prefer that "emphasis should be laid upon having the Indian brethren assume their responsibilities

rather than demand their rights, and that there should be joint conferences between the Mission and the native Church as to amounts needed for work rather than that native pastors should vote in the Mission meetings." (49.13)

In each of the Board's "Manuals for the Use of Missionaries" since 1894, appears the following paragraph:

> Each Station in preparing its estimates shall consult with the proper agents of the native Church, so as to secure its proper share in, and responsibility for, the support of all evangelistic and educational work. The amount given by the native Church and the amount of help asked from the Board shall be clearly stated. (51.8)

The Board's interpretations of this paragraph is that there should be consultation with the proper agents of the Church in preparing estimates, so that they may have a voice in determining the scale on which work shall be projected as well as in the expenditure of the money after the plans have been fixed. (49.12) In their opinion many difficulties would be forestalled if the financial relations of the Missions and the Churches were to begin as far back as the making up of the Station estimates.

> "Where these relations are postponed until the appropriations have been made, the question becomes merely a question of the distribution of money from America. If, on the other hand, both Mission and Church consult from the outset on what their common obligations are, and determine in advance how much is to be provided by each, it will be easier to develop the sense of responsibility in the native Church and to have a laudable desire for authority balanced by the sobering influence of duty." (70)

VII

CONCLUSION

WE have surveyed but the ecclesiastical and administrative aspects of devolution. The complex and exceedingly difficult problems of evangelistic and financial devolution have scarcely been touched. Furthermore the study of even this limited realm has, in general, confined itself to the historical consideration of the problems involved. The object has not been to lay out the course which should be followed in the future. There has been, however, the conviction that if the past were seen with greater clearness the future could be met with greater precision of adjustment; that, if each mission drew the lines of adjustment between mission and church from the beginning of its history to the present, the projection of these charted lines into the future would be the easier, and that a series of detailed studies such as this from each of the six great differentiated mission areas of the world would furnish the kind of data upon which one small part of the coming science of missions could be built. No attempt will be made here to summarize the findings of the previous Chapters. Several additional observations may, however, be given.

The Complex Nature of a Missionary's

Work. Even from this limited study the conclusion is evident that a missionary's task by no means ends with the preaching of the "simple Gospel." In the effort to establish a self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating, indigenous Church he faces one of the most difficult problems in race psychology and in race education as well as in the functional evaluation of religion. His is a task which justifies and demands specialized equipment. More and more the true success of a missionary in his individual and collective capacity will come to be judged by the degree in which he has made himself and his Mission dispensable. For those whose temperaments are fitted to the newer conditions arising in mission fields, and who with a teacher's abandon can lose themselves in assisting the self-realization of individual and of Church, there is sure to come with deepening impressiveness and clearness the significance of the missionary task.

Defect in Execution Rather than in Ideal. One is impressed after the perusal of the literature from which this study has been made with the fact that many of the ideals and principles still being urged were enunciated with clearness and precision a half century ago. In official statements, in Deputations, in the long series of Mission Conferences one finds reiterated decade after decade, principles which many might suppose to have developed only in modern times. From such a survey as this it is evident that there are missions that have through a series of years kept before themselves the working ideal of an independent, national Church, and

who will deem their work unfinished until such Churches are firmly established, free to adapt themselves spontaneously to racial points of view and tendencies, and as such responsible for entering completely and pervasively into their nation's life and need.

But while in four out of five Societies considered there has been a fairly clear cut ideal of independent daughter Churches, we have seen how falteringly the ideal realized itself in practice; how widely opinion varied as to the fitness of the Indian Church for a larger share in self-government, how hesitatingly steps have been taken to develop more fully the qualities which are essential to proper self-government; and how hard it has been for missionaries really to dominate policy and methods with the aim of creating a self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing Indian Church. Not the evolution of the principle but its embodiment in practice has proved the difficult thing. Assent by vote to an ideal is one thing; altering old institutions and actual methods, is another. The momentum of the habitual must be reckoned with even if the reasonableness of the new ideal is unquestioned.

Lack of Conclusive Thinking. If one ask the reason why ideals and principles clearly discerned have not been with more certainty embodied in actual organization and method, one answer must be that there has been a lack of conclusive thinking. For example, no phrase occurs more often in articles on this general subject than the one spoken in the spirit of John the Baptist—we must de-

crease, and they must increase. All missionaries assent to this statement without exception. But when it comes to practice lack of imagination, inability to put one's self in the other's place, the neglect to make explicit the implications of that phrase, prevent the adequate embodiment of this principle. Fine ideals are expressed in resolutions, but examination shows that all too often definite practical plans of procedure are not indicated by which the high ends contemplated are to be secured. Those outside the Mission, however, can judge only by actual practice, and to them this may indicate a reluctance on the part of the missionary to permit Indians to develop leadership. Such a judgment while unjust to the missionary may really be just when applied to the policy and administration of the system of which the missionary is a part.

The Influence of Church Polity on Mission Organization. Another reason why ideals and principles when once evolved have been so slowly realized in practice lies in the system on which mission administration has been organized. Given a group of men and women in a foreign land intent on the accomplishment of certain ends. How should they organize for the accomplishment of their purpose? This question has not always been settled on its merits. Polities held sacred in ecclesiastical affairs have been carried over into this other realm. Organization that was congenial—possibly considered as divinely inspired—for the Church was by analogy applied to the administration of a great enterprise which in general is not

ecclesiastical. Thus we have seen how one great Society in 1859 abandoned the policy of organizing its missionaries into a group the individuals of which should be guided by the vote of the majority. It was argued that a polity that recognized independence as between one church and another church involved also independence as between one missionary and another missionary on the field. In another Mission discussion looking toward the establishment of a Superintendency or General Secretaryship of a group for purposes of efficiency was silenced by cries of "Bishop" or "Pope"—the application of ecclesiastical terms to purely administrative and executive offices. Now it is not part of this study to decide whether a highly centralized system or a highly democratic or independent system is the better when all things are taken into consideration. There certainly are many who feel that it is sacrilegious to attempt to apply efficiency tests to spiritual work; who resent comparisons between the way great enterprises outside the Church are carried to successful completion and the way the work of the Great Commission is being wrought out on mission fields. But confining ourselves to the single question as to why certain principles of devolution clearly enunciated long ago should not have been more fully embodied in actual practice, we must find the explanation in part in this factor of organization. If, when a resolution has been passed it is no one's business to see that execution follows, we need not be surprised to find that progress is very uneven and uncertain.

Tendency to Centralization. This study has

shown, however, a distinct tendency in recent years to break away from polities which are characteristic of the Church as such, and to introduce other principles in the administration of purely mission work. The Society that abolished "Mission" organization in 1859, made a distinct departure from its purely individualistic methods by the introduction of Mission Conferences and Committees in 1900, and the very strong recommendation in more recent years of the plan of General Superintendents for each of its various Missions. The Madura (Congregational) and the Arcot (Reformed) Missions in their two schemes of devolution have recognized that the functions of these transitory organizations are administrative rather than ecclesiastical. Considerations of efficiency, rather than analogy with Church systems, have led as we have seen to a certain amount of centralization in the assignment of executive functions to the various factors in District Conference and Church Council respectively. The Mission which fifteen years ago stopped an effort at superintendency with the cry of "Bishop," two years ago furnished the first Field Secretary for the three Indian Missions of the Presbyterian Church under a plan by which it is hoped that the Missions will be enabled to follow a more constructive and definite policy. Still stronger examples of this tendency in mission administration could be taken from the Missions of these Churches in other lands. During the Continuation Committee Conferences held in India 1912-13 it was repeatedly stated that if this series of discussions was to amount to anything more than those of the Decen-

nial Conferences previously held, one essential condition must be met, viz., that some man must be set apart whose duty it should be to see that the ideals and principles evolved be not straightway forgotten in the pressing detail of local work. There is evidence then that there is a tendency to organize missions from the standpoint of efficiency in the special work that is to be done. There is the hope that precision of function along with right ideals will accelerate the embodiment of those ideals—amongst which will be devolution from Mission to Church.

The Indigenous Church as End or Means. The discussion of ideals, furthermore, brings out a negative result. Even where there has been the ideal of independent national Churches we fail to find any conclusively worked out policy defining whether this independent Church is to be sought as a means or as an end. This question is fundamental and upon its answer inevitably depend far-reaching differences in practical mission administration. Is the aim of foreign missions the evangelization of certain countries, with the organization of native Churches as means—perhaps the most important means toward that end? Or is the really controlling aim the establishment of self-reliant, efficient, independent Churches? Historically the aim of evangelization has come first; later in the process, the aim of the establishment of the Church on the Mission Field has developed. Even now if a mission in a new field were being opened evangelization would naturally have to precede, in time, Church development; converts would have to be

secured before they could be organized. But it is possible to confuse analysis in time with the analysis in emphasis. The question is, which of these aims should be controlling in shaping policy and method. If evangelization of the whole field is the purpose then the Church is organized as a means, and devolution is a mere matter of adjustment. But if the goal is the establishment of self-reliant efficient independent Churches then the devolution of powers and responsibilities to this growing Church becomes in fact controlling. It will mean the unresting self-effacement of the true teacher; it will mean the indomitable will to see that in very deed and fact Mission decreases and Church increases; it will mean the long hard road of patience—the patience of God. Policy on this question has still to be formulated.

India's Lack of the Spirit of Aggressive Independence. A consideration of the facts of ecclesiastical devolution reveals no positive evidence that any of the five Churches or Societies considered have wanted permanently to hold India subject to foreign ecclesiastical control. We have seen that if the Indian Christians connected with the American Board and the American Baptist Mission Society have not at any time been ecclesiastically independent it is because they have not appealed to or insisted on principles ingrained in those through whom they have been evangelized. The official documents of the Reformed Church after 1863 and of the Presbyterian Church after 1870 contain many definite declarations of their longing for the rise of independent Churches on the Mis-

sion Field. There can be no doubt that if a definite appeal had been made to them by suitable representatives from their branches in India, independence would have been granted. Even in the Methodist Episcopal Church, which on this question has made no definite official declaration to which Indian Christians connected with them may appeal, history indicates that independence would be granted if it were strongly demanded.

The discontent, therefore, amongst the more educated Indians, in so far as it is due to causes arising from the West, must be due not to the ideals of the home Churches but to the practice of their Missions. Indians must, however, from these same facts realize that one cause of their condition has been the lack of a pervasive spirit of assertive independence, which would have at once been honored and respected by those whose prayer has been for this very thing.

The Ecclesiastical Relationship of Missionaries. As to the ecclesiastical relationship of missionaries there has been no unanimity of procedure amongst the Societies studied. The missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church have from the beginning worked from within the section of their Church established in India, and there is no thought of any other procedure. The Presbyterian missionaries have continued from the beginning to work from within the Indian Church; but there are very distinct indications that a change of policy is about to manifest itself. The Arcot missionaries continue to work from within in the relationship of assessors. The Baptists and Congregationalists

have on the whole worked from without; but since the formation of the South India United Church in 1908 two Missions of the American Board have taken over the policy of working from within the Indian Church. Therefore as far as actual practice is concerned the ecclesiastical relationship of missionaries has been predominantly of the *intra muros* type. It is to be noted that any missionary in three of the Societies may have full voting powers in the Indian Church with which he may be connected, but no Indian may be a full member of any Mission of these three Societies. This is an inconsistency which under the circumstances is justified as a temporary measure—but as we have seen, as an educational measure, its necessity and wisdom are doubted by many. Facts certainly show that the *intra muros* policy, in connection with the Presbyterian Church in India, and to a less extent in connection with the South India United Church, has resulted in an overshadowing of the Indian by the missionary—a condition which in the opinion of many Indians and missionaries is held to be unwarranted. Overshadowing and the premature forcing of organization are not necessary results of the *intra muros* policy, but they have tended to be its accompaniment in India.

Comparison of Methods in Administrative Devolution. We have seen that each Society is making more or less earnest effort at devolution in administration. In some Missions and some Stations it has yet scarcely more than begun, nor is it advancing at the same rate in each Mission of any one Society. But the era of definitely

organized plans for devolving duties and responsibilities on the Indian Church has unmistakably arrived. Especially since 1900 has this been true. Our study has shown that it is by no means in the oldest Missions that the development of devolution has been most pronounced.

We have seen that (apart from the Methodist Episcopal Church which has at no time organized its missionaries into "Missions") there is no present tendency to give up "Mission" organization. In the one case where the decision of the problem of the ultilization or dissolution of the Mission was made with the interests of the Indian Church definitely in mind, the result, after twenty years of discussion and experiment, has been the continuation of the organization of foreign missionaries in a body by themselves.

With reference to the other extreme we saw that while home Societies have been repeatedly asked by missionaries in India to grant full missionary status to selected Indians, the home authorities are a unit in refusing this request. Experience of a hundred years has led to the practically unanimous conviction that it is unwise under any circumstance to appoint a native as a missionary of a home Board. This is by no means due to any low estimate of the character and capacities of the people, but to convictions that such appointments would harm the best interests of the native Church.

Unless this question is settled on principle and in a way that is thoroughly understood and accepted by the Indian Church and by the missionaries as well as by the home authorities, the way will be

obscured for other plans of devolution. As long as missionaries on the field do not see eye to eye with the authorities at home in this regard we will continue to find such Mission-centric types of devolution as were described in Chapter VI. These partial admissions of Indians to Mission deliberations only bring more discontent because case after case arises in which it is plain that the only reason for not giving the Indian full power is just because he is an Indian. It will be increasingly true that self-respecting Indians will not indure that young missionaries, fresh from abroad without Indian experience, shall be placed in authority over Indian members of large experience. Moreover, the problem is not solved by providing in the Mission a few places of high responsibility for a few isolated, though well-trained, Indian workers. The whole mass needs to have the burden of the work brought home to it. It is a question whether any Mission-centric policy can do this.

But Chapter VI gave two examples of another solution. In each case both Mission and Church retained their identity and an intermediate, transitional organization was developed—the Indian Church Council and the District Conference, respectively. In these systems the center of gravity of the thought-life is really Indian, and yet there are very adequate safeguards, but with definite provision for devolution to full Indian control. By the old system, the Indian Agent was first under an individual missionary; in course of time a stage was reached when each Mission related Indian Agents to itself; the next step in such a development

would naturally be for the Indian Agent to be related to the Society in America as is the missionary himself. Under the transitional schemes the Indian Agent is related to a Church Board and the next step must bring him into relation to the Church itself. Other advantages felt to arise from these two plans of devolution have been given in connection with their description.

Before deciding whether any one of the plans described in Chapter VI is best for the given situation one would want a longer base line from which to judge than has been drawn in this study. One ought to know for purposes of comparison and suggestion the complicated and lengthy history of the adjustment of co-operation between the Japanese Churches and the various Missions, one would want to study the plans developed in Northern China by the Methodists, at Shantung by the Presbyterians, in the North China Mission of the American Board, to mention only a few of the many schemes with which experiment is being made. No one plan will do for all the world, but the experience of all the world should be brought to bear upon each of the major problems that must rise in any field. Such combined knowledge and experience should enable one to anticipate rather than falteringly follow the needs as they arise.

Devolution Fundamentally a Problem in Education. If in conclusion two words may be allowed as the personal convictions of the writer, the first would be this: The most satisfying results in devolution will come from the patient, thoroughgoing, persistent application to each concrete situation of

the psychological laws of education. There is no rule-of-thumb generalization that is possible. Mere copying of methods used elsewhere is as unwise in the realm of racial education as in that of individual education. China, Korea, Japan, India—each is a different personality and the individuality of each must be respected. Even within the territorial group the Burman differs so widely from the Karen, the church of a hundred years from the village converts of the day, town from rural attitudes, that the missionary—in so far as he has anything to share—must constantly have the teacher's attitude of sympathetically seeking to understand the standpoint of the taught. The first study of the teacher is the pupil. The individual men or group—their needs and nurture at the time—must be centric. There must be the recognition in actual practice that truest growth is from within and not from the absorption of ready-made ideas; that groups like individuals are to be creative and that it is activity and shouldering of responsibility that develops. Educational provision must be made for them to be actors rather than merely acted upon. Grant that a strictly educational procedure may not produce at once the same results in converts as would a Mission centered system organized primarily for evangelization; but nowhere are educational institutions expected to turn out material as rapidly as factories. The effort to apply educational principles may not be easy in every case; but the facing of problems with a progressive open mind is better in the end than a blind yielding to inertia or drifting with the current. The mission field today calls

for men with a double share of self-effacement, men who can be patient with the mistakes that go with growth, men who can bear to see a task half done if it represents the honest best of their new-found friends and even though uneducative interference would have brought perfection. The demand is for true educators.

And of Personal Attitudes. And this leads us to the second word, viz., that in the last analysis the solution lies in the personal realm as well as in the realm of methodology. There may be very little in the system. Even where there is a pure autocracy when the man at the head has right attitudes there may be in fact autonomy. And on the other hand one of the most painful things is to see the success with which a man of dominating type can subvert a system distinctly projected for autonomy. There is little use in placing Indians here and there on Committees and Boards if, back in the Stations, in the dusty run of every-day life, spiritual fellowship and counsel in the great work is not sought and secured. Schemes of devolution are little more than possibilities for good unless the personal attitude which should go with the scheme is present. Modern educators are re-discovering what Paul and Pestalozzi emphasized—that the relationship of love is all-important. With this, success may come with the worst of methods; without it, the best may fail. The man is more than the method, as has been so abundantly exemplified in India's noble list of missionaries.

In these two realms—technique and attitude—the solution lies. There is no short cut to the

accomplishment of the great goal. Stubborn facts of social heritage both on the part of missionary and people make impossible any easy copying of another's polity or another's method. But one may count with scientific certainty on slow sure results from an application of world experience to the concrete situation; from the utilization of the results of sound psychology and education; from conclusive thinking producing policies clear-cut and based on principle; from careful provision for the execution of principles when once evolved; and crowning all from the self-effacing attitude of the great Teacher.

ABCFM

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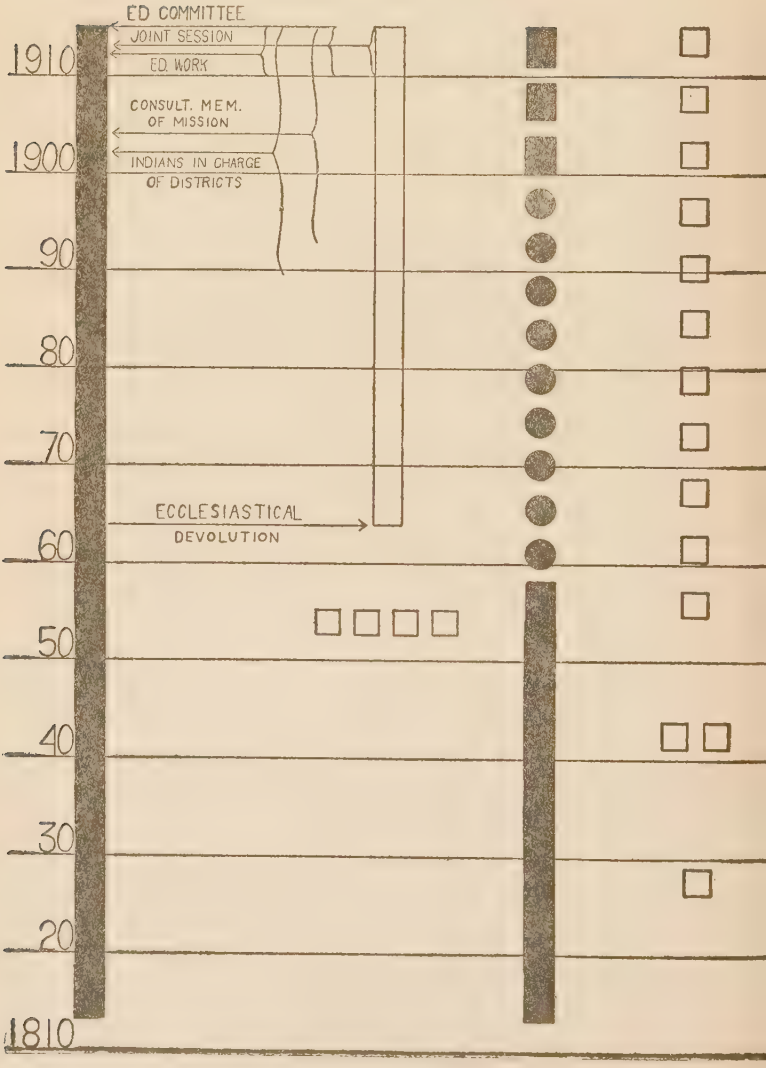

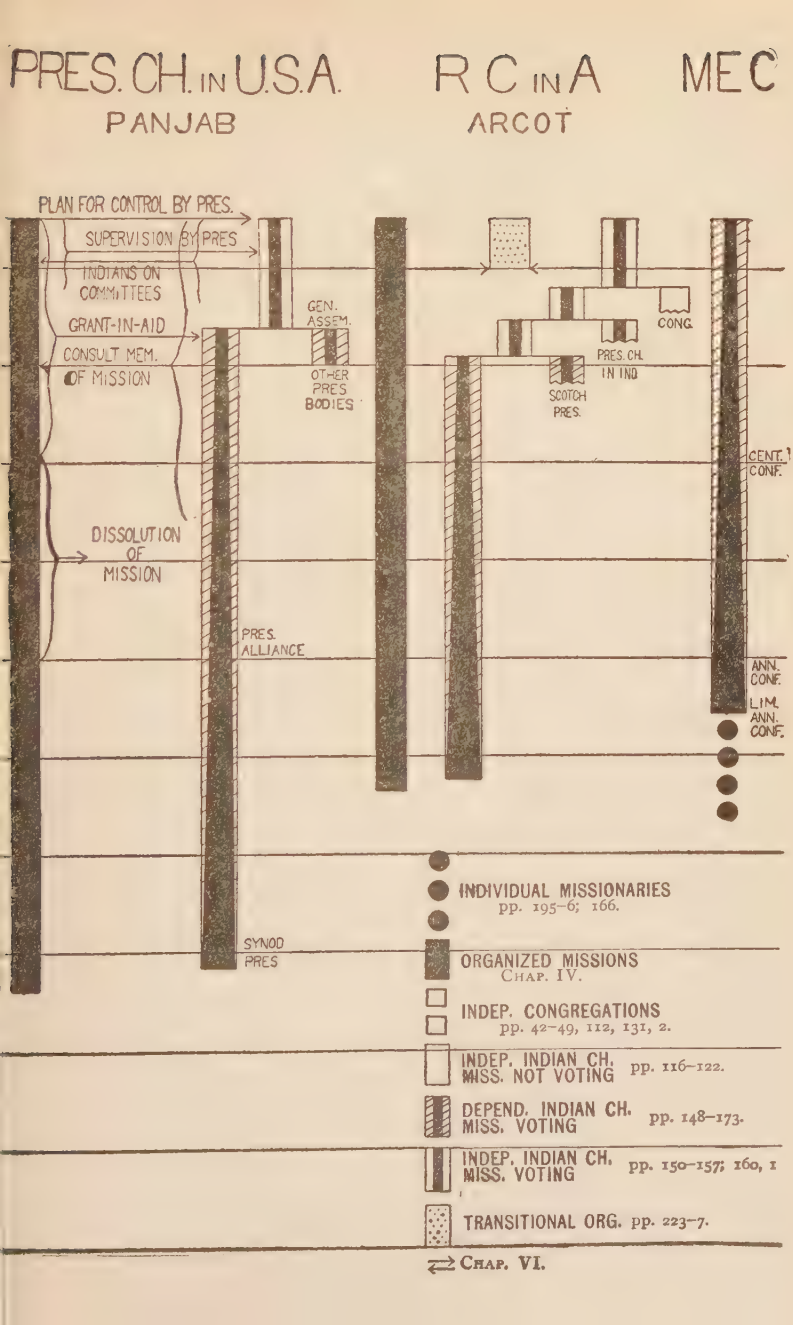
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